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ABSTRACT

Testimony of witnesses, including senators and professors, newspaper articles, press releases, communications, and other publications in support of legislation that would create a Department or Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution are provided. The academy would have 3 major functions: (1) to perform and assist research about international peace and peacemaking; (2) to educate and train--directly and indirectly--persons across the nation from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations about international peace and peacemaking skills; and (3) to establish an information service in the field of peace learning. To be located within easy reach of Washington, D.C., the academy would be governed by a 15-member board, consisting of 4 members from Congress (2 members from each major political party from the Senate and the House of Representatives) and 11 members nominated by the President and approved by the Senate. (RM)

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UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE ACT

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 1889

TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

APRIL 21, 1982

SØ 014 653

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources

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UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE ACT

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1981

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:08 a.m., in room 6226, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Robert T. Stafford (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Stafford, Randolph, Pell, and Matsunaga.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR STAFFORD

Senator STAFFORD. The Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities will please come to order.

For the subcommittee, we welcome all of our guests in the committee hearing room this morning. This is an important hearing on S. 1889, to establish a U.S. Peace Academy. I am particularly happy not only to join with my dear colleague, Senator Jennings Randolph, but to welcome our distinguished colleagues who are at the witness table.

The subcommittee is interested in determining whether a focused Federal investment in international peace and conflict resolution is in the national interest.

It is clear to me, as I am sure it is clear to those testifying here this morning, that a large number of Americans are deeply concerned with the maintenance of peace in the world. Therefore, in this era of mounting tensions, it is entirely appropriate, indeed, necessary, that Congress take time to consider this issue. The United States has no greater interest than that of international and national peace.

This concept is a part of our history, and the specific proposal of an academy for peace can find its roots in the founding of our country. George Washington in a 1783 circular to the newly formed States, wrote, "There can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States."

Now, almost 200 years later, this subcommittee is considering legislation for the creation of a National Peace Academy.

There have been earlier legislative proposals embodying the notion of establishing a peace academy—including a 1945 proposal by my esteemed colleague, Senator Jennings Randolph, of West Virginia. Senator Randolph has been tireless in his efforts over the years on behalf of a National Peace Academy.

Today, we are faced with the business of responding to a recommendation by the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution to create a National Academy of Peace.

The Commission recommended the establishment of a Federally funded nonprofit, independent corporation to assist in the attainment of the Nation's goal of promoting international peace through developing knowledge of conflict resolution techniques.

Our hope is to learn from the witnesses recommendations if a national academy of peace should be established and, if so, what form it should take.

At this juncture, I would like to introduce our most distinguished colleague from the Hawaiian Islands, Senator Spark Matsunaga, who served as the Commission Chairman on proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Senator Matsunaga will be our leadoff witness this morning. After his testimony, I would invite my distinguished colleague from Hawaii to join us here on the dais as an honorary member of our subcommittee.

Senator Randolph, I am sure that in view of your long and deep interest in this matter, you have an opening statement.

Senator **Randolph**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I will try to be brief.

When a Senator makes such a statement, no one believes him. But we do have witnesses from many walks of interest and also Members of Congress who will testify.

I think it is a historic thing for us. We are in a pilgrimage which began over 45 years ago when the first of the series of measures at the congressional level, that we create the peace arm of our Government, was introduced in one form or another by the Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

Now, our bill, S. 1889, has 53 cosponsors. There are 17 Republicans and 36 Democrats.

Even though there are less Republicans than Democrats, they are in charge of the Senate, although I listed the Republicans first, not because there are fewer on this measure. There should never be any partisanship; differing views, of course, I understand those. But when people of good will come together, these differences will never divide us, because that would break apart all of the cooperative effort which we have, I think, developed through the years.

There are those who will testify, who are former members of the One-Year Study Commission; that Commission had, as we know, a congressional mandate, to determine whether the creation of a peace academy is feasible or practical. We must remember these two very important words.

This legislation is a result of the recommendations of that Study Commission and, of course, we will hear in a few moments from its Chairman, our dedicated colleague—use the word "dedicated" advisedly, to this program, Senator Matsunaga of Hawaii; there will be witnesses which we want to listen to very carefully, from the institutions of higher education in our country; because this is a matter of an educational format.

There will be church groups, and there will be service organizations of many types that have conducted, over a period of time, Mr.

Chairman, their peace study programs, separate from what we are doing today.

The first legislation in my time which recommended an institution within the Federal Government structure dedicated to peace, and I step back to my colleague of those days to the man I succeeded in the Senate, Matthew Mansfield Neely. He was a U.S. Senator; he was in the U.S. House of Representatives and he was a Governor of the State of West Virginia.

In 1935, he introduced—and I have checked it very carefully—the first Department of Peace proposal of this country.

There were bills I introduced in the 1940's, 1945 and 1947—and I do want the record also to show that the then Representative, Everett McKinley Dirksen, of Illinois, and Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, were active at that time.

In that same year, 1945, as a Member of the House, I introduced the bill that for the first time incorporated that idea, that the international exchange of people and their thoughts and ideas, background, is an effective means of promoting peace.

I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that that concept is included in S. 1889. I introduced that bill in the House, and if you will forgive me I will quote what I said at the time:

> It would be utter folly for us to believe that we can keep secret the atomic bomb and other devices of warfare, because it would only raise a suspicion among other countries and cause them to develop for more deadly substitutes.

These were fears that I had then, fears that I remember now, or even truths in greater degree.

We have come to a dreadful accuracy of what I said in 1945. We live in a time when people of differing viewpoints are wondering how we can launch a limited nuclear war and even win that war from the standpoint of the United States of America, provided we were to initiate a first strike against real enemies or perceived enemies, particularly the Soviet Union.

In 1959, after I was absent from Capitol Hill for 11½ years—I do not want to tell you that I retired—I was defeated in 1946. I want the record to be very correct. Then I came back in 1958. In 1959, I again introduced the bill, S. 2332, to create a Cabinet-level Department of Peace.

In June 1961, in 1968, and in 1969, I was to reintroduce or cosponsor legislation to create what I called a peacearm, an arm for peace within our Government, including U.S. disarmament agency for world peace and security.

In 1976, why I had the responsibility to cosponsor S. 1976; that was introduced by Senator Vance Hartke, serving at that time from the State of Indiana, to create a U.S. Academy of Peace, committed to the dream, that somehow peacekeeping can work.

So over this 45-year span in both the House and Senate, I have been but one of those in the Congress who believed as others throughout the world believed, that necessarily we must have a strong defense structure, but we must also be committed—and we can do it at the same time—to pursue what I call peacemaking.

I reemphasize that our commitment to peace needs to be as visible as our promotion of defense and that we should institutionalize that commitment as surely as we have institutionalized defense.

Wars figure prominently in the course of international relations. War has been both vilified and glorified as we know. Unfortunately, war seems to be—to too many people, the accepted means to an end when conflicts finally erupt between nations, as apparently it is on the ragged edge of erupting between Great Britain and Argentina.

Now, we have seen the statewide coalition coming together and arguing against nuclear arms buildup. This has occurred in several States. I speak of it as not an isolated incident. I know that hundreds of thousands of people, perhaps the majority, say that peace is everybody's business.

I think, Mr. Chairman, it is time we make it somebody's job, not everybody's business. Certainly here in the Congress we can act affirmatively.

Let us examine, let us debate our foreign policy. Do not misunderstand me. I want to say to Senator Hatfield, who has been a leader in this matter, I recall that Franklin Roosevelt, when he talked of policy, never used the term "foreign policy". He talked about world policy. Go back and study his words.

World policy. Not foreign policy.

So the democratic process has been in motion in one way or another in a motion that has not reversed itself since 1776. That letter from the White House dated April 13 expresses the President's regrets that he cannot endorse S. 1889 due to "budgetary restraints." The letter, and I am not critical, goes on to state that "The President believes that peace alternatives will be best served by his military budget increases, and by those peace studies projects now funded at institutions of higher education."

I believe, Mr. Chairman, and those who are testifying, our guests today, that the American people have the fairness and the courage and the strength, and that our Government shares our commitment to peacemaking.

We have seen a reawakening of the horrors that may come from a nuclear war. I am no one to lead a crusade. I just want to be a part of a program which I think deserves the attention, and upholding of hands together, reaching out from one to another.

We begin in this very small way to enact S. 1889. We will be more visible; we will be more believable; we will have a lasting effect as we attempt to work for peace through conciliation and understanding.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I have been somewhat upset by people and I do appreciate being upset by people who constantly are saying that I am a person who is very tolerant. Ladies and gentlemen, tolerance is not enough. That still permits you to walk by on the other side. But if you say you are a person that wants to understand, why then I think you would be supportive of a program of this kind. It will call for discipline and determination; it will call for intelligence; it is a new movement, although perhaps a long, long time behind us; it has a worthwhile history.

But we are all concerned for the human family of which we are a part. Somehow or another, I hope that before I leave the Congress— we will have a bill enacted to begin a Government-supported peacemaking effort that includes research, education, and training in conflict resolution.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator RANDOLPH. We need to have harmony and so this is the beginning of an effort that has been going on, for many years. I think that history, when it is finally written and understood, will remember those of you who testify today. Hopefully, Mr. Chairman, you and all of those who are in this room will be a part of history books relating to this very, very critical matter in a time when, in a sense, the world crumbles.

[Discussion off the record.]

Thank you very much.

[The opening statement of Senator Randolph follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR RANDOLPH

Senator RANDOLPH. Today marks an historic milestone in a pilgrimage which began over 45 years ago, when the first of a series of measures that would create a peace-arm of our Government was introduced.

The bill before us today, S. 1889, has a total of 53 cosponsors—17 Republicans and 35 Democrats.

A number of witnesses today are former Members of the One-Year Study Commission created to determine whether the establishment of a Peace Academy is either feasible or practical, S. 1889 is a result of the recommendations of the U.S. Study Commission, and its Chairman, Senator Spark Matsunaga.

Other witnesses are from institutions of higher education, churches and service organizations that have, for some time, conducted peace study projects of their own.

In our time, the first legislation seeking an institution within the Federal Government structure dedicated to peace was in 1935 when another West Virginian—U.S. Senator Matthew M. Neely introduced a bill providing for the establishment of a Department of Peace.

Other bills were introduced in the forties—specifically in 1945 and 1947—including one by then-Representative Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, and Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin. In that same year—1945—I introduced a bill as a Member of the House of Representatives that would have, for the first time, incorporated the idea that the international exchange of people and ideas is an effective means of promoting peace. I am happy to say that that concept has been incorporated into S. 1889.

At the time I introduced the bill in the House, I said that: "It would be utter folly for us to believe that we can keep secret the Atomic Bomb and other devices of warfare, because it would only raise a suspicion among other Countries and cause them to develop substitutes . . ."

Our once-held fears are becoming dreadfully accurate. We live in a time when responsible people have actually been heard to say that we could launch a limited nuclear war and win it—provided we initiate a first strike against our perceived enemies—particularly the Soviet Union.

In 1959—on my return to Congress as a Member of the U.S. Senate—I again introduced a bill, S. 2332, to create a Cabinet-level Department of Peace. In June 1961, in 1968 and in 1969, I again introduced or cosponsored legislation to create a peace-arm within our Government—including the U.S. Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security.

In 1976 it was my privilege to cosponsor S. 1976, a measure introduced by Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana, to create a U.S. Academy of Peace, committed to the ideals of peacemaking.

Our efforts over a 45-year span, in both the House and the Senate should help to assure other countries, including the Soviet Union, that although we necessarily pursue a strong defense structure, we are also committed to pursue the art of peacemaking. I wanted then as I want now, to emphasize that our commitment to peace needs to be as visible as our promotion of defense—and that we should institutionalize that commitment as surely as we have institutionalized defense.

Throughout our history, war has figured prominently in the course of international relations. As a tool of nations, it has been both vilified and glorified. Unfortunately, war is the accepted means to an end when conflict occurs between nations. For too long this has been so.

We have witnessed many peacemakers in our time—from all walks of life—religious, political, academic—and some have worked for or within established governments, or through international institutions such as the Old League of Nations. They worked to deny that warfare has any legitimacy anywhere. Other peacemakers came not from positions of power, but from positions independent of ruling governments and elites, as individuals and organizations deeply committed to the development of alternatives to war as a means of settling conflicts between nations—and their views often ran counter to those held by governments and their policymakers.

We have recently witnessed statewide coalition coming together and arguing against nuclear arms buildups, and this is occuring in several States. It is not just one isolated incident.

We are aware that the trend toward greater worldwide militarization suggests that current procedures for peacekeeping and international understanding need to be stepped up and improved upon—that new alternatives must be found and initiated in order to silence the rattle of sabers.

We need to recognize, and accept, credible and prominent contributions from the nongovernment community toward American policymaking.

Great changes have taken place over the last 20 years that are the direct result of like-minded citizens getting together and working for their cause. Such coalitions have given us the civil rights movement, the women's movement, environmentalism, consumerism, the antiwar movement of the sixties, and now the "nuclear freeze" movement.

We need to train competent scholars whose views are not necessarily those of our established national policymakers. We could use a cadre of trained personnel who are uniquely suited to an impartial, objective role in the Nation's affairs—foreign and domestic.

That is one thing we hope to achieve through establishing the National Peace Academy—trained cadres of individuals who want to establish a nation—or a world—that is not dependent upon weapons for maintaining order.

They say that peace is everybody's business. Isn't it time we made it somebody's job?

Through small expenditures of Federal funds, we have subsidized everything from ways to improve the reading levels of children, to creating a new strain of wheat for better yields to feed a hungry world. It may have taken years of trial and error and more and more research—but the results are documented success stories.

We can do no less for peace.

War prevention research. It's not a well-known research field, and it is seldom funded. It is seldom funded because it is necessarily different from most things this country is famous for researching. Those institutions and organizations who are willing to do such research are considered by the Government and by most private grantmaking foundations as high-risk investments. Too often, the groups that are committed to peace education, arms control education, and research, or exploring nonviolent conflict resolution techniques, are considered eccentrics.

Despite the labels they bear, we still have a core group of organizations out there with staunch followers that are growing every day.

Locally, we have the National Peace Academy campaign, directed by Mr. Mike Mapes who will testify today, that has spent the last few years keeping the idea of a National Peace Academy alive in the minds and hearts of the Congress as well as the 30,000 members of that organization from all over the country.

Other examples of long-time organizations committed to peace are The Fellowship of Reconciliation of 1914, along with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—both established in 1915.

We have the American Friends Service Committee, represented here today by witness Dr. Jerry Elmer of Providence, R.I. It was established in 1917.

The War Resisters League began in 1923; SANE, a citizens organization for a sane world, was established in 1957.

These are the names of only a few grassroots, citizens groups who support a Federal commitment to peacemaking alternatives, and to the specific establishment of a Peace Academy.

It is time that we begin to view, as at least being possible, new initiatives to promote alternatives to our Nation's present military posture. It's time that peaceful alternatives to war stop being viewed as controversial, suspicious, emotional, or downright unpatriotic.

It seems to me that to encourage the examination and debate of our foreign policy is merely a continuation of what we hold most dear—the democratic process set in motion in the year 1776.

A letter from the White House, dated April 13, expresses the President's regrets that he cannot endorse S. 1889 due to "budgetary restraints." The letter goes on to say that the President believes that peace alternatives will be best served by his military budget increases, and by those peace-studies projects now funded at institutions of higher education.

To be sure, there are exemplary programs of peace studies being conducted by colleges and universities in the United States. But they are few and far between. We need to expand those in existence, and start new ones where none exist—until there is such a study program in effect in at least every State in the Union where people have access to them.

Let our citizens realize their own capability of producing fresh ideas and political courage to direct change in a positive way, aimed at teaching the science of peace and conflict resolution that will bring hope instead of terror to humanity. Let's stop squandering the talents of all our most gifted researchers and technicians in America on the sterile activities of producing warmaking weaponry. Let's give those fine minds a chance to address other, more pressing ways and means of resolving global problems that are now smoldering on a back burner.

I believe in the courage and strength of the American people and our Government. But in recent weeks I have seen a greater awakening to the threat of war—and particularly the horror associated with nuclear war—and so I call upon our citizenry and our Government officials to at least let us begin to move in this small way, through enactment of S. 1889, toward a more visible, believable and lasting effort to learn to negotiate a lasting condition of peace.

This country has the patience, the determinations, the discipline, and the intelligence of its people to succeed in this new mission and to make a worthy contribution toward working out the common concerns of humanity, and to do it together in harmony.

We must take this stand in the midst of world unrest over the arms race, and take a stand now, before we are thrust onto a course in history from which there is no return.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Senator Randolph, for a very moving statement.

Now, it is our pleasure for the subcommittee to ask the Chairman of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, our most able and distinguished friend, Spark Matsunaga, to deliver his statement.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR MATSUNAGA

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Senator Randolph. I personally wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for arranging this early hearing on the measure and I must say I was most pleased at the prompt response I received upon making the request. Because one of the original three sponsors of the measure is needed at another meeting, at this point, I yield to the Senator from Oregon, Mr. Hatfield.

STATEMENT OF HON. MARK O. HATFIELD, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OREGON

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much, Senator Matsunaga.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Randolph, first of all, I want to express my very deep appreciation to this committee for holding this hearing, and to Senator Matsunaga and the other eight members of the Commission for their very cogent analysis that they gave in the final report to the President and to the Congress on the establishment of a Peace Academy.

Senator Randolph has indicated over the years, in fact, since 1793, that there have been over 100 proposals made for either a Department of Peace, or a Peace Academy. So we are not talking about some new idea that has just emerged on the scene, but something that has very deep roots in our Republic.

I would like to ask unanimous consent to have my entire statement placed in the record, and I would like to make about three very brief highlight points.

Senator STAFFORD. Without objection, it is so ordered.

[The prepared statement of Senator Hatfield follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR HATFIELD

Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege to testify in support of S. 1889. I am convinced that the bill you are considering could be one of the most important pieces of legislation of our time. I am proud to be one of its principal sponsors, and I continue to urge each of my colleagues in Congress to give it his or her unequivocal support.

I must also say that it is gratifying to be here to see this bill -- which seems to have a good chance of passage -- reach this stage, because I have been involved in this effort for a long time. The idea, of course, can be traced all the way back to 1793, and legislation creating a Department or Academy of Peace has been introduced more than 100 times in our Nation's history. My valued Colleague, Senator Randolph, knows this story well -- he introduced legislation that was a precursor of this bill in 1945, when he served in the House of Representatives. Other great names associated with the forerunners to this bill include Matthew Neely, Alexander Wiley, and Everett Dirksen. Today, we are indebted to my good friend and Colleague, Spark Matsunaga, who did an outstanding job as Chairman of the Commission that has provided us with this proposal. I know that Senator Matsunaga remarked many times that he has had great difficulty during his years in Congress selling peace to his colleagues. I know he is gratified as I am to realize that today -- finally -- it appears that Congress may be in a buying mood. We have before us a proposal backed not only by a Congressional Commission, but by 53 U.S. Senators and over 100 Members of the House of Representatives. More importantly, though, we have seen in recent weeks that the prople of America have become vocal in their fear and concern over the direction in which we are headed, and we are witnessing a growing awareness all around the country that we need to find alternatives to war as a means of settling disputes. I think it is a fortunate coincidence that these hearings are taking place during Ground Zero Week, when Americans are being educated on what may happen if we persist in relying upon violent means of conflict settlement.

The U.S. Academy of Peace will be both a living symbol and a practical instrument for advancing world peace. I have felt for years that there is an urgent need to counterbalance the bureaucratic momentum behind war. Reversing that momentum has been compared by some to trying to make a clock run backwards by pushing on the hour hand -- it is not an easy task at all. Creation of the Academy will not solve the problems overnight, but at least we will have made the decision to change our current patterns of decision making. Risk is a fact of life these days, and while we have accomodated to the risk of war, I submit that it is time be became serious about developing creative means with which to risk peace. The United States has always been a country deeply dedicated to this cause, and I know that our President is a man of peace who is driven by his desire to build on his, and on our nation's commitment to world peace. We cannot cease exploring alternatives, and the Academy proposal would merge our history of innovation with our dedication to conflict resolution to make that commitment real.

The Commission has provided us with a very clear picture of what the Academy should look like, and what it should do. All nine members of the Commission are to be congratulated for their fine efforts. Their Final Report to the President and to Congress represents an even-handed and cogent analysis of the problem, and their proposed solution seems to me to be the most efficient and cost-effective direction we can take. For the record, it is important to emphasize that the Academy is not meant to supplant or compete with work that is already being done in this field. On the contrary, it is intended to complement, coordinate, and accelerate that work. We need to embody our national commitment to peace in a national institution -- an institution which simply does not exist today. I have no doubt that without the Peace Academy, the work currently being done in the field of peace making will slowly be infused into our society. The fact is, though, that we do not have the luxury of time. We need to act now.

A word about cost. I am, of course, quite sensitive to the budget problems which face us. I remind my Colleagues, though, that we are currently engaged in cutting waste from the federal budget. There are those who are charging that this proposal is extravagant, but I submit that the opposite is true: this is no extravagance - it is a necessity. While I understand that there are proposals afloat that may lower the initial costs of creating the Academy, my feeling is that the numbers are not as important as the basic question of whether or not the American taxpayers ought to invest in this project. The potential returns on our investment in terms of lives saved, property preserved, and money saved are unbounded. What's more, I suggest that it would be a tremendous perversion of our priorities if we were to declare ourselves unwilling to invest in this new opportunity for peace. That may be one way to do things, but Americans have always prided themselves on their knack for innovation. This is a new direction, and we ought to pursue it, if only because the price of failure may bee too high. We have before us a chance to enhance the possibility of world civility. If we pass up this chance, and war continues to rage around our world as it will, our lack of resolve and imagination in the effort to keep the peace will be inexcusable.

I referred earlier to the mood of the country today; the freeze campaign, Ground Zero Week - in general, a growing awareness of the gravity of our situation. People are involved in this movement because they are frightened, and they don't see any tangible evidence that we are doing anything to avert the growing nuclear and non-nuclear dangers in the world. I am, of course, a sponsor of the freeze resolution, and I continue to think that a freeze would be an important first step. We need to recognize, though, that if we did freeze the level of nuclear armaments, or even someday succeeded in doing away with them completely, we would still have conflicts of all sorts around the world. The nations of the world have at their disposal endless non-nuclear ways of warring with one another, and the Peace Academy's creation would provide the people of America and the world with a bold new step -- tangible evidence that the United States is addressing itself to the more fundamental and long-term challenge of finding constructive and nonviolent ways of resolving all sorts of disputes.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would say this: I am a veteran of World War Two, and I will never forget my horrifying walk through the rubble of Hiroshima just days after its destruction. I cannot imagine how any mother, brother, friend, or countryman of any young man who has risked his life on the battlefield could be opposed to an idea that would lessen the chances that any of our brothers, sisters, children, or grandchildren would have to risk their lives again. Mr. Chairman, I cannot impress upon you and my colleagues enough how strongly I feel about this legislation. We have before us a bill of limitless potential. I submit that we, as United States Senators charged with protecting and advancing the well-being of our country and, to a large extent, the world, are duty-bound. We simply cannot let this historic opportunity pass us by.

Thank you.

Senator **Hatfield**. First of all, I would like to say that unlike the previous periods in which such a proposal has been considered by the Congress, we are living in a new and more complex world that demands the skills, techniques, and all other resources that can be mustered to resolve conflicts before they arise, or to anticipate conflicts.

I need not tell you the differences of opinion that have arisen in our own institution, the U.S. Senate. In the period that Senator Randolph has served in this Congress, on either side of the Capitol, there is a growing utilization of computer technology that has come into our offices; to answer mail, to handle casework, to do all of these things. We only have to look at our own households to understand that this world has become much more complex, and one of the great challenges we face in our own activities, I think, is to avoid letting computers depersonalize our relationships with our constituents. When we talk about conflicts; when we talk about peace and war, we are talking basically about human relations, and as a consequence we must recognize the demands to match our technological, scientific advances with human understanding and the more skillful handling of human problems and human relationships.

Second, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that we have to more effectively address the question: What are the causes of war?

We have dealt with preparation for wars and we have taken risks for war. It is about time that we take risks for peace, and strive to understand the causes of war and deal with those causes, rather than only dealing with the results that will ultimately come when the causes are neglected.

I speak of the growing gap between the haves and the have-nots of this world. It is not narrowing.

That gap is widening. People talk about ignorance, poverty, and injustice, all of the things that breed conflicts between human beings. I am persuaded in my own mind that if God forbid, there should be a major war in this world, it will not be between major ideologies; but it will rather, be a conflict between superpowers for access to diminishing raw materials of this Earth. This is one of the things that we ought to address now in anticipation of problems that will arise to haunt us in the future if we fail to do so.

Thirdly, I think we must recognize that unlike any time in the past when these proposals have been considered, time and space are no longer luxuries that we can afford. The spaces between people have indeed greatly decreased. The varied international capabilities of destroying the entire planet; all of humanity, is no longer in the science fiction books, but is reality. So time and space are no longer on our side. We are living on the edge of the abyss.

It seems to me this is the time to mobilize the greatest skill, technology, and creative genius that is within the American fabric for peace and I think this proposal becomes a focal point, a rallying point for that kind of activity.

Let us not quibble over the cost or the format of the academy. There will be an evolutionary consideration of such things, and I think most would admit that we would probably begin with a clearinghouse relationship, and later see a proliferation of curriculum around this country, with universities drawing together classes into a peace-type program that can help train young people into resolving conflicts, not only at the international level but within our own Nation, as between people of different races, religions, and economic status. We have much to deal with in the United States to make peace. We cannot go into the world talking about peace if we have not resolved conflicts within our own country, and I think the academy is where we would train a corps of such people, not only for world peace but where peace begins; and that is in the hearts and minds of individuals as they live with their families, and in their communities and neighborhoods.

So the academy will in no way compete with the diplomatic corps or other institutions who are involved in the activity of making peace, but rather will complement such existing activities.

I am proud to be associated with my colleagues at the table here, the Congressmen and Senators who cosponsor this legislation, and I want to say once again that Spark Matsunaga certainly was the wagonmaster of this whole effort as he put this Commission together and drove it through to the completion of this fine report. I want to thank him especially, and all the other members of the Commission, and you, Mr. Chairman, for calling this hearing today.

Thank you.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Senator Hatfield.

Senator Matsunaga?

Senator RANDOLPH. Just before Senator Matsunaga speaks I want to commend the Senator from Oregon, Senator Hatfield for his compassion in so many matters that we face up to in connection with legislation on this Hill. Also, his deep sense of a personal, rather than a political, commitment to an idea or dream or even a crusade.

I want the record to indicate my constant affection for him as a man, a manly man, a great colleague to work with.

Thank you.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you.

I wish to thank the Senator from Oregon for his statement and I must say that had it not been for his efforts as chairman of the Appropriations Committee or member of the Appropriations Committee at that time, the leading, ranking member, the Commission would not have had the privilege of the $500,000 appropriated for its functions.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the pending bill S. 1889, is based on the findings of the Commission, which concluded its study last year and presented its final report to the President and the Congress in October. However, the concept of a national institution devoted to peace is as old as our Republic. In fact, the first "Plan for a Peace Office" within the Federal Government was published in a popular almanac shortly after the American Revolution when the newly independent colonies were considering proposals for a Constitution. The original proposal has been attributed both to Benjamin Rush, a prominent physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, and to Benjamin Banneker, a black mathematician who was the publisher of the almanac in which it appeared. Since then, for over 200 years, Americans have continued to view world peace as a vital part of our national heritage and as an essential component in our national security.

Proposals for a Federal agency devoted specifically to the pursuit of peace have been advanced by men and women of vision and stature both in the Government and in the private sector. During the last 50 years, more than 140 bills have been introduced in Congress calling for the establishment of such an agency. The first of these, introduced in 1935 by Senator Matthew M. Neely of West Virginia, provided for the establishment of a U.S. Department of Peace similar to the Peace Office proposed by Rush and Bannecker. A Bureau of Peace and Friendship, to be located in the U.S. Department of Labor, was also proposed in 1935 by U.S. Representative Fred Bierman of Iowa. The Bureau, to be headed by "an eminent sociologist," was to carry out sociological research on matters pertaining to peace and war. Research was also the focus of two resolutions introduced in the House in 2945 and 1947 by then-Representative Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. The Dirksen resolutions would have established a "Division of Peace and Friendship" within the U.S. Department of State.

In later years, the concept of a Federal institution devoted to peace was expanded. In 1945, Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin introduced legislation to create a small, high-level Department of Peace, with the Secretary serving, among other things, as the U.S. Representative of the United Nations Security Council. That same year, then-Representative and now Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, now a distinguished member of this subcommittee, introduced a Department of Peace bill that incorporated for the first time the concept that the international exchange of people and ideas is an effective means of promoting peace.

In 1955, President Dwight D. Eisenhower pointed with concern to the unprecedented destructive power of the new weapons and the international tensions which powerful armaments aggravate. He appointed a Special Assistant to the President for Disarmament. That individual, Governor Harold Stassen of Minnesota, was given Cabinet rank and was often referred to as the Secretary of Peace.

Also in 1955, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana and Congressman Charles Bennett of Florida proposed the creation of a Joint Congressional Committee for a Just and Lasting Peace, and Congressman Harold C. Ostertag of New York introduced a bill which included the concept of a national peace college.

Between 1959 and 1961, the proposal which eventually became the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency took shape in Congress. The two most prominent sponsors of the 1960 bills were Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who proposed a national peace agency, and Senator John F. Kennedy, who proposed the establishment of an arms control research institute.

If anything, the war in Vietnam and the escalating arms race added impetus to these efforts. In 1977, I introduced, along with Senator Jennings Randolph and Senator Mark Hatfield, legislation providing for a study of the various proposals for new institutions devoted to peace research, training, and operations. Our bill was attached as an amendment to the Education Act Amendments of 1978 and passed the Congress in October 1978. An appropriation of $500,000 was provided in the latter part of 1979 and a nine-member study Commission was appointed. Three members of the Commission were appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate:

myself, former Congressman John Dellenback, and Mr. John P. Dunfey; three were appointed by the Speaker of the House: Congressman Dan Glickman, who sits to my right; Congressman John Ashbrook, and Mr. William Lincoln. And three were appointed by the President of the United States: Dr. James Laue, Dr. Elise Boulding, and Mr. Arthur Barnes. Some of the former Commission members are present today and will testify later during these hearings.

In the course of its study, the Commission held 12 public hearings in as many American cities, from Boston to Honolulu. Approximately 10,000 individuals were contacted by the Commission and invited to participate in these hearings, including many expert witnesses chosen because of their special knowledge of conflict resolution. Witnesses included representatives of labor, business, State and local government, community and ethnic organizations, educational institutions, and civil and human rights organizations.

The Commission also accepted unsolicited testimony, both written and oral, from Americans in all walks of life.

In addition to the public hearings, the members of this Commission held more than 50 meetings with other organizations. We visited three military service organizations and met with officials of the Foreign Service Institute, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the Community Relations Service, and many other private sector and community organizations. Existing literature relating to peace research and conflict resolution was extensively reviewed by the Commission members and its staff.

The Commission's final report, entitled 'To Establish the United States Academy of Peace," is based upon its study and recommends the establishment of a U.S. Academy of Peace. The proposed Academy would be a private, nonprofit, nonmembership corporation with headquarters in the District of Columbia. It would have three major functions:

First, it would perform research and support research at other institutions.

Second, it would provide graduate and postgraduate educational programs for which students at institutions of higher education could receive credit, and it would provide continuing education services such as workshops and seminars for public and private sector organizations and individuals, aimed at strengthening their conflict resolution skills.

Third, the Academy would establish an information service to gather and disseminate information related to the field of peace learning.

A Center for International Peace would be established within the Academy to which leaders from this Nation and abroad would be appointed to study, and the Academy would establish the award of a Medal of Peace to be presented annually by the President of the United States.

In support of its principal recommendation, the Commission report contains eight major findings of the Commission which, I believe, answer the question: Why an Academy of Peace?

First, the Commission found that the U.S. Academy of Peace would advance the national interest by developing peacemaking expertise that can reduce the chance that this Nation, or any other, will breach peace and risk nuclear war by escalating conflicts into violence.

Second, the Commission found that the United States has a special capacity to promote peace in the world as well as throughout the Nation, and that the U.S. Academy of Peace would build upon and expand this heritage.

Third, the Commission found that the U.S. Academy of Peace would strengthen national security and reduce the cost of international conflict through its research and training in a range of effective options to conflict, in addition to military capacity.

Fourth, the Commission found that through its education, training and information services, the U.S. Academy of Peace would sharpen the peacemaking capabilities of Americans in Government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations, thereby advancing this Nation's world leadership in promoting international peace.

Fifth, the Commission found that the U.S. Academy of Peace would amplify the field of peace learning and extend peacemaking expertise by focusing national attention on peace research, education, and training.

Sixth, the Commission found that the U.S. Academy of Peace should use both international and national peacemaking and conflict resolution experiences in designing its education and training and information services, and should give priority to research on cultural differences in peace and conflict processes.

Seventh, the Commission found that the absence of a coordinated national commitment to research, education and training in the field of peace learning has caused neglect of peacemaking knowledge and skills to the detriment of the Nation's effectiveness in policymaking and policy implementation in international affairs, conflicts and war.

Eighth, the Commission found broad public and Government interest in a Federal institution devoted to this Nation's peacemaking capacities that would have complementary programs of research, education, training, and information services; would serve people in and out of Government; and would be sheltered from undue Government or private domination.

S. 1889, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, embodies these findings. In addition, the bill would authorize modest appropriations for the Academy's first 2 years. Funds in the amount of $6 million would be provided for the Academy's first year of operations, and $10 million would be authorized for the Academy's second year of operations. A one-time appropriation of $15 million would be authorized for the acquisition of the Academy's principal facilities in Washington, D.C. S. 1889 further provides that the Academy's board of directors could accept private contributions and gifts to supplement the Academy's core Federal funding. The Commission strongly recommended that the Academy's board of directors work with existing institutions to establish research, education, and training programs at other locations throughout the country, and it is anticipated that this would be done through grants and contracts awarded by the Academy to other institutions.

Mr. Chairman, the Peace Academy is an idea whose time has come at long last. Personally, I believe that there is a need for training the best and brightest Americans in the processes of peace and conflict resolution. We take many of our most intelligent high school graduates and send them to military academies to learn the art of waging war. Why can't we make it possible for them to learn how to wage peace? To those who say that we cannot afford to have an Academy of Peace—even a modest one as proposed by the Commission—I would respond that we cannot afford not to have one. For if there is one thing that I know, it is that wars are started in the hearts and minds of men, and if we want to prevent future wars we can only do it by promoting peace in the hearts and minds of men. I strongly urge the subcommittee to give favorable consideration to S. 1889.

Mr. Chairman, I have been asked to request the subcommittee to include several written statements in its hearing record. First, I understand that Senator Dave Durenberger has provided the subcommittee with a statement for inclusion in the record and I ask that it be included as if Senator Durenberger had delivered it personally.

Senator STAFFORD. Without objection, it will be.

[The statement referred to follows:]

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DAVE DURENBERGER
ON THE
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

THERE CAN BE NO FINER TRIBUTE TO SPARKY MATSUNAGA THAN TO ESTABLISH SUCH AN ACADEMY. HE ABOVE ALL OTHERS, HAS HAD THE FORESIGHT AND DEDICATION NEEDED TO MAKE THIS IDEA A REALITY. BUT IT'S NOT JUST FOR SENATOR MATSUNAGA THAT WE SHOULD ESTABLISH AN ACADEMY. IT'S FOR ALL OF US AND OUR CHILDREN.

I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT IF WE ARE TO TURN THIS COUNTRY AROUND, MEET THE NEEDS OF OUR CITIZENS, AND MAINTAIN A STRONG DEFENSE, WE NEED A POLICY OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

WE NEED TO STRENGTHEN OUR GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES AND TO WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS TO REDUCE OUR NUCLEAR ARSENALS. BUT NATIONAL SECURITY REQUIRES MORE THAN MILITARY MIGHT. IT REQUIRES THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN ORDER TO AVOID IT, AND THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IN ORDER TO END IT.

THE ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION WOULD HELP TO MEET THESE NEEDS BY DEVELOPING EDUCATION AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS IN THE AREAS OF BARGAINING AND NEGOTIATION, MEDIATION, AND ARBITRATION. DIPLOMATIC HISTORY HAS SHOWN THE VALUE TO SUCH SKILLS IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTIONS OF DISPUTES. THE MORE WE CAN LEARN ABOUT THE ART OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, THE MORE OUR NATION AND OUR NATIONAL SECURITY WILL BENEFIT.

OUR POWER AND PRESTIGE GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING COOPERATIVE RATHER THAN COMPETITIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS. OUR NATIONAL INTEREST DEMANDS IT.

I BELIEVE THAT AMERICA HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TROUBLED NATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WITHOUT SUCH PEACEMAKING WE CAN ONLY CONTINUE TO WORRY ABOUT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

I HOPE THAT YOU WILL JOIN ME IN ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSING THE ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

Senator **MATSUNAGA**. In addition, I ask that the written statements furnished by Dr. Philip E. Jacob, professor of political science emeritus at the University of Hawaii, and Dr. Glenn D. Paige, professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, be included in the hearing record at the appropriate point. Dr. Jacob and Dr. Paige both testified in support of the proposed Peace Academy during hearings on a supporting resolution adopted by the Hawaii State legislature earlier this month. In addition, Mr. Chairman, I ask that the written statement of the 450-member Pasadena, Calif. chapter of the United Nations Association be included in the hearing record. And, finally, I ask that a letter from Daniel G. Barton from Boston University, be included in the record at this point.

Senator **STAFFORD**. Without objection, the several requests will be granted.

[The information referred to follows:]

STRENGTHENING CAPABILITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKING

Testimony presented by Philip E. Jacob at a hearing of the State of Hawaii
Senate Committee on Government Operations and Inter-Governmental Operations
in regard to S.C.R. 42 supporting establishment of a United States Academy of Peace
March 25, 1982

My name is Philip E. Jacob. I have been a professor of Political Science and International Relations at the Universities of Pennsylvania and Hawaii for the last thirty years, studying particularly the development of international organizations. Two of my publications deal directly with issues related to the present resolution: The Dynamics of International Organization and The Integration of Political Communities.

This statement focuses on what the proposed Academy of Peace can do to strengthen three kinds of international peacemaking capabilities.

(1) It can recruit and train mediators who can help resolve international disputes.

(2) It can prepare persons for the extremely delicate tasks of "peacekeeping" in zones of international tension and imminent hostilities.

(3) It can develop creative statesmanship to promote peaceful change.

1. Mediation in International Peacemaking

Resolution of international conflicts demands a very special kind of expertise. The mediating third party usually must function within the context of collective responsibility, accountable to an international organ, as well as relating directly to the disputing parties. Often the third party is itself collective, a group of persons rather than an individual. They must then work out their own consensus as they try to secure consensus among the disputants.

Effectiveness hinges on the ability of these persons to command the confidence and respect of all the various governments which have authorized their intervention.

Aside from personal qualities, the mediators need astute political sensitivities based on knowledge of the political cultures of the countries to whose governments they have to relate. They also need practical experience in processes of consensus formation which cross social and ideological boundaries, either in public or non-governmental activities.

The present corps of personnel qualified for this exacting and absolutely vital peacemaking role is extremely limited. This presents the Academy with three challenges. First is recruitment. It should try to identify a select group of persons with the potential for service in the mediation of international conflicts. Second, it should facilitate exposure of such persons to the problems of international mediation, preferably through direct association on limited time assignments with agencies engaged in international conflict resolution. Third is continuous cross-national evaluation of the international mediating process to develop greater insight concerning its pitfalls, as well as of guidelines to achievement. This means that the Academy should constantly draw on non-Americans to participate with Americans in coming to understand better how to deal with countries locked in conflict. It should become a center for the global exchange of experience among practitioners in the mediating arts, thereby broadening and deepening the basis of their competence.

2. Peacekeeping

It is widely recognized that interposing an international peacekeeping "presence" has been instrumental in preventing or restraining hostilities in the Middle East, Cyprus, Africa, the Caribbean and other tinder-box situations. These have called for exceptional courage and professional skills in highly sensitive diplomacy and multi-national field operations. Here is a second major area in which the Academy will be able to make an important contribution to world peace.

Thorough knowledge of the problems which have confronted peacekeeping operations is essential to strengthen their future effectiveness. While considerable research has already been devoted to such activities, it has not been integrated into the policy "think-tanks" of key governments. Here the Academy can bridge the gap between policy-maker and scholar, bringing both sides together in evaluating alternative models of peacemaking as applied to different scenarios of international hostility.

Selection and preparation of personnel for the many difficult tasks of peacekeeping is equally important. The Academy should be able to produce a ready pool of persons qualified by sensitivity, self-control and technical skill to fulfill these taxing and dangerous roles, attracting the cream of highly motivated foreign as well as American students. In this process, it should be able to design testing procedures to identify persons with a high probability of survival under the tensions peculiar to these missions of non-coercive intervention in the midst of violence or near-violence.

3. Strategies for Peaceful Change

What makes international conflicts so intractable is the inflexibility of the protagonists. Within the context of the existing political, economic or strategic situation, compromise appears to demand concessions by each side which undermine vital interests. The central problem in reaching a basic settlement of the controversy is to create a different situation wherein both sides can reasonably expect to secure their interests, or where the prospects of so doing look more promising than what might happen in the wake of violence. This calls for far-reaching imaginative socio-political engineering in which alternative situations may require ventures in cooperative action by many nations in addition to those in conflict.

Peaceful change usually takes a long time to nurture. Inputs from many sources, public and private, need to be channeled into the preparative process before an acceptable strategy can be discovered. False starts, following trial and error, generate disappointment and skepticism which frustrate would-be peacemakers and heighten the appeal of extremists to turn to violence. Somehow, actions must be devised which carry the promise of peaceful change - which have an immediate "demonstration effect" - while not raising unrealistic expectations of quick solutions to fundamental problems.

Here again, the Academy will be in a position to become a center for creative statesmanship. More solid research is needed on previous experiments in peaceful change. Computerization now makes possible effective cross-referencing of these experiences, isolating and measuring factors which affected their success or failure, such as is currently done in bio-medical research on the effects of alternative therapies. On the other hand, these studies need to be informed by the qualitative judgment of persons who were involved first-hand in designing and executing peaceful change strategies.

On the basis of its expanding body of information, the Academy might then put forward alternative approaches to resolution of pending conflicts, and possibly design preventive change strategies anticipating conflicts before they reach crisis point.

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All three of these functions call for the merging of academic work with practical experience in cross-national collaborative action.

Actually, there are very few people who have been able to secure this dual preparation for international peacemaking. Virtually no institution is equipped to provide it. My hope is that the Academy, under imaginative direction, would be able to fill part of this vacuum. The international community would then have at its disposal a corps of persons - varying in age, sex, ethnic background and profession - but all of whom would have had experience in working side-by-side with colleagues from other countries on problems critical to the peacemaking process.

For a National Peace Academy

Glenn D. Paige
Professor of Political Science
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Thirteen years ago, in the spring of 1969, I participated with about 50 other scholars in a meeting with President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger in the Cabinet Room of the White House.

I still recall vividly what the President told us at that time: "The United States is no longer the world's leading military power. We used to be, but this is no longer the case." Then he explained the now familiar advances in Soviet nuclear arms that had ended the era of American atomic monopoly and described the formidable present and projected buildup of Soviet land, sea, and air forces.

He concluded, "The task of the United States at the end of the 20th century is to find a way to live in a world in which we are no longer the dominant military power. If you have any ideas as to how this can be done, please let us know."

Unfortunately I was not perceptive enough then to appreciate the full implications of what he was saying or to understand the requirements for creative thought and action that they entailed. With hindsight, it now seems that it would have been appropriate to urge upon him the combination of (1) a nonviolent version of the Manhattan Project to discover how to release the enormous

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Remarks in support of SC42, "Requesting the President and Congress to Establish a National Peace Academy," presented to the Committee on Government Operations and Intergovernmental Relations, chaired by Senator Duke Kawasaki, Hawaii State Senate, March 24, 1982.

creative energy of nonviolent human potential, and (2) a nonviolent version of NASA to apply such knowledge to make the still uncharted journey to a completely nonviolent world community where free expression, economic justice, and human dignity are strong and secure.

The resolution before this committee to urge the President and Congress to establish a National Peace Academy is not a commitment of this magnitude. But though modest in objectives, scale, and cost, it is a constructive step forward. I support it.

One of the less well understood truths of political science is that leaders can lead. Of course leadership is impossible without constructive followership but sometimes persistent leadership can succeed in seemingly unfavorable conditions. It is entirely possible that Hawaii's distinguished Senator Spark M. Matsunaga, supported by bipartisan, partisan and nonpartisan leaders and citizens in all walks of life throughout the country, will succeed in realizing the historic goal of many Americans for a national institution specifically dedicated to peace.

As participants in this effort, the leadership of the chairman and members of this committee, the Senate as a whole, and the entire State Legislature, supported by Hawaii's people, can make an important contribution.

Despite the fearfulness of our times, we should not act out of fear but because constructive work for peace is an expression of the best that is in us, and the best hope for humankind at the end of the 20th century.

UNA USA

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice

Pasadena Chapter
723 East Green Street
Pasadena, California 91101
Telephone 449-1795 or 681-9244

Subcommittee Hearing Date: April 21, 1982

STATEMENT TO THE U.S. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES

IN SUPPORT OF S 1889, ESTABLISHING THE U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE

The United Nations Association, Pasadena Chapter, is in support of the establishment of a U.S. Academy of Peace. Our concepts include..

1) An adequately funded, federally-chartered, non-profit corporation;
2) A non-intervention agency oriented to education, training, research, and information services serving people in government, private enterprise and voluntary associations;
3) An institution accessible and useful to scholars and analysts; policy makers and those who implement policy; Americans and leaders of other nations; and decision-makers in international affairs, conflicts, and war.

Because the present state of military technology makes war unsurvivable and disaster planning meaningless, we must develop and teach techniques to resolve disputes peacefully. From a fiscal standpoint, preparations for war are ruining our social programs, and financing conflict resolution techniques is infinitely cheaper. In sum, it is absolutely essential for the United States to change its focus from armed capacity for international violence to one of peacemaking among nations and people.

The 450-member Pasadena Chap , United Nations Association, urges passage of S 1889. Implementation of this bill would be an important and practical investment in peace research, education and training about international peace and peacemaking skills, as well as information services in the field of peace learning.

Evelyn Pickarts
Mrs. Evelyn Pickarts, President
United Nations Association
Pasadena, California, Chapter

Boston University

School of Law
765 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

March 19, 1982

The Hon. Spark Matsunaga, Chairman
Commission on Proposals for the National Academy
of Peace and Conflict Resolution
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Matsunaga:

The Commission's proposal is warmly to be supported for many reasons, not the least of which is the Commission's accurate observation that "the type of multi- and interdisciplinary research necessary to advance the field [of peace learning] will not proceed adequately in the private sector as now constituted if there is no Academy." Peace learning, as the Commission has used that term, quickly moves across established professional or disciplinary lines to ask far more of the peace researcher than is normally obtained through traditional scholarly research. A few examples will underscore the great potential inherent in the proposed Academy of Peace.

Contemporary scholarly thinking about international law has emphasized the role of law in serving the needs of the international community. This implies a dynamic process: as the needs of society change, law must change. International lawyers inside and outside of government often describe "the law" as though it were a static body of rules, however, seeming to divorce the law from the realities of the society whose needs it serves. Where such a view is more than semantic or stylistic, it diminishes prospects for using law in the service of peace. In this view law becomes irrelevant: since legal rules do not reflect the needs of society, they will not be observed; law is thus incapable of shaping conduct. Viewing law as a complex process of developing, applying and changing norms in tandem with the changing needs of society returns to law its dynamic role in shaping conduct. Although in this view law will change as societal needs change, strong values embedded in the law will help to shape and guide both societal and legal change.

The dynamic view of law places heavy demands on legal scholars and practitioners. It is not sufficient for the lawyer to look backwards to past expressions of legal doctrine. It is even not sufficient to rest one's case upon present practice articulated as law. One must also seek out the values embodied in present practice, and show how that practice will continue to serve international community interests.

To work effectively with the dynamic model thus requires a broader view than has traditionally been available to legal scholars or practitioners. Depending upon the area of law, and the particular issue at hand, the lawyer will need also to work with economists, historians, diplomats, military men, and others having specialized knowledge and experience relevant to an understanding of the needs of the international community. Since resources of this scope and diversity are rarely available either in government or in academia, present international law research often both fails to be fully responsive to community needs and values, and falls short of its potential to develop law as an active force capable of shaping conduct in the service of peace.

Firmly believing, as do I, that a just and humane international law is a necessary foundation for peace, I enthusiastically welcome the Commission's proposal. The United States Academy of Peace will provide an unprecedented opportunity for the kind of interchange needed to make international law a force for peace.

Sincerely,

Daniel G. Partan
Professor of Law

Senator **Stafford**. We thank you very much, Senator Matsunaga.

We understand that Senator Jepsen has a critical time situation and with the indulgence of our colleagues on the House, the Chair at this point would recognize Senator Jepsen.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROGER W. JEPSEN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Senator **Jepsen**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank my colleagues for their indulgence. Senator Randolph, I favor continued increases in our defense budget and I favored such increases long before it was fashionable to do so. Surprisingly some people have found this stance to be at odds with my cosponsorship of the bill that authorizes the establishment of the U.S. Academy of Peace. Nothing could be further from the truth. My support of both stems from my abhorrence of war and my understanding of history. I come here today to talk about two wars and the lessons that they hold for us.

Since the beginning of recorded history, we have had wars that could not have been averted by negotiation. For instance, over 2,000 years ago, Rome killed 450,000 of the 500,000 citizens of Carthage in the Third Punic War. At that time there were two major cities in those days: Rome and Carthage in the area of Tunisia.

For many years when the Roman Senator Cato, appeared before the Senate, whether he was talking about the city's sewers or building roads he always ended his speech with these words, and I quote: "And besides, Carthage must be destroyed."

Senator **Stafford**. Carthago delendum est.

Senator **Jepsen**. That is right. Rome did not declare war because Carthage was not willing to negotiate. Carthage did negotiate. Rome did not make war because the citizens of Carthage were not willing to make unilateral sacrifices to avoid war. They did. In fact, Carthage not only agreed to completely disarm but they sent Rome dozens of their sons, daughters, and their top officials all in the hopes of avoiding war. But even this great sacrifice was not enough. Carthage disarmed. Rome then wanted to evacuate the city and burn it to the ground. It was at that point that the Carthaginians said, wait a minute, we are not going to let that happen. And they decided to fight. But by then, of course, it was too late for them to rearm, too late for them to effectively fight.

Rome subsequently killed 450,000 of the 500,000, Carthaginians, liquidated Carthage, and burned the city to the ground.

Such historical lessons reinforce my support for a strong defense. I never want to see the fate of American lives depend on the good will of our enemies. But history teaches us further lessons as well, Mr. Chairman.

There are many instances when massive bloodshed has been avoided by negotiation. There are many instances when initial agreements have been kept. Such savings of life through diplomacy are the bright spots in our history. Yet negotiations, however sincerely entered into by both sides have not always triumphed. There are instances when they failed when they should have succeeded. These moments are among the most tragic in history. The start of World War I may be a classic example. The famed historian, A. J. P. Taylor once wrote:

> Men are reluctant to believe that great events have small causes. Therefore, once the Great War started, they were convinced that it must be the outcome of profound forces. It is hard to discover this when we examine the details. Nowhere was there conscious determination to provoke a war. Statesmen miscalculated. They used instruments of bluff and threat which have proved effective in previous occasions. This time things went wrong.

Another historian, Michael Howard, wrote about the start of World War I in a similar vein. He wrote, "It was precisely because nobody took this crisis seriously, because so many far more serious had been successfully dealt with in the past, that it so quickly became unmanageable and involved all Europe in ruin."

So a war was started and millions of casualties resulted, millions of casualties that need not have occurred.

Today, the stakes of war are considerably greater but the chances of a needlessly lost peace remain. The U.S. Academy of Peace, Mr. Chairman, is designed to train people for reducing the risk of such a lost peace and this is why it is important. This is a modest claim.

You will hear many reasons and justifications, for an Academy of Peace but this modest claim alone, in my opinion, is enough. To enthusiastically support the U.S. Academy of Peace, one need not believe that one can negotiate away all the wars or that the training given at a U.S. Academy of Peace will enable its graduates to prevent every war that is theoretically preventable, Rather, if it brings focus to the peace process, if it gives training to our future negotiators, prevents even one small war, the Peace Academy will rank among the best and the finest endeavors of this Government.

In closing, I want to put the cost of the Academy of Peace in perspective. I am often asked, and the question will be asked more often in the next 60 to 180 days: How much defense is enough? My answer is: We must maintain a level of defense that will keep the peace, prevent war and bloodshed and enable us to go to the negotiating table, sit down, eyeball to eyeball, and talk effectively about reducing or eliminating nuclear arms.

Now, I favor a strong defense posture. But the amount requested in this bill is $31 million over 2 years. Half of that is for capital funding.

For the sake of perspective, I would submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that we are talking about the purchase price of one F-18 fighter, $30 million. I think that if need be, we could find that money some way or another, maybe by just ordering one less F-18.

I support the Peace Academy because I think it will make a $30 million contribution to peace.

I will say the same for peace as I said in response to the question of how much is enough for defense. We must do whatever necessary to maintain national defense. The proper amount that we should spend to foster peace is whatever it will take. Thirty-one million dollars is a bargain.

Thank you for your leadership, Senator Matsunaga. I appreciate the missionary work that you did by sitting down and visiting with me about this proposal.

Thank you very much.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Senator Jepsen, for your very good statement.

We are very pleased that the ranking member of the committee has joined us, Senator Pell. Do you have a statement at this point?

Senator PELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do. First, I would like to congratulate you on holding this important hearing on S. 1889, the U.S. Academy of Peace Act. I am very proud to be one of the 51 cosponsors of this legislation which was introduced last year by my good friend and colleague, Senator Matsunaga.

This legislation is an outgrowth of the work and recommendations of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. This Commission was provided for in the Education Amendments of 1978, Public Law 95-561. At that time, I had the privilege of chairing the Education Subcommittee. I am exceptionally pleased today to see that we have come so far—from idea to study commission and now to the proposal of a permanent National Peace Academy.

In this era of international turmoil, the need for Peace Academy has never been greater. The situation in which the United States and the Soviet Union now find themselves reminds me of a sailboat race that I say last summer. As two large, powerful vessels converged on each other at an alarming rate, people on observations boats sounded warnings. To my amazement and dismay, neither helmsmen heeded the warnings and, consequently, the boats collided. One of them was demasted, and the other was severely damaged. Just like those two sailboats, the United States and the Soviet Union are today moving on a collision course that could lead to nuclear war.

My colleagues and I spend a great deal of time thinking about peace and about ways to avoid a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union. The prospect of nuclear war is the most important issue in our society today and makes all others, even economic and social issues, irrelevant. It is imperative that we focus our attention on this issue and direct our efforts toward the prevention of a conflagration which could, in the words of Jonathan Schell, "create an abyss in which all human purposes would be drowned for all time."

This is an appropriate time to hold a hearing on the Peace Academy because it is Ground Zero Week. During this week, Americans are demonstrating their determination to halt the nuclear arms race and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. As a nation dedicated to the establishment of peace, we must prevent the outbreak of all forms of war. I believe that the Peace Academy can help us to achieve this end and, as a result, make the threat of nuclear war nonexistent.

Further, the creation of this academy is even more important in view of the massive increases in defense spending urged by the present administration. When one considers that we spend billions every year on weapons of destruction, it would certainly seem that we could wisely and intelligently afford to spend a few million annually on peace and conflict resolution.

Finally, I want to welcome Mr. Jerry Elmer, field secretary of the American Friends Service Committee [AFSC] of Rhode Island. Through his service with AFSC, Mr. Elmer has been extensively involved in developing programs of peace, education, and community conflict resolution. As lecturer, educator, and adviser to schools, churches, and other community groups, he has played an invaluable role in educating Rhode Islanders about the nonviolent peace movement.

Mr. Elmer brings not ony a national but an international perspective to his work. In 1977 he spent 4 months traveling through South and Southeast Asia on behalf of AFSC. During this time he met with governmental officials, religious leaders, Western diplomats, human rights advocates, and others to assess the status of human rights and the impact of Western economic and military aid programs on the nations of this area. In 1981 he served as codirector of a factfinding mission to Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Mr. Elmer now works primarily on issues related to nuclear weapons, disarmament, and foreign policy. Under his effective direction, the AFSC office of Rhode Island works extensively on the proposal to freeze nuclear weapons. I know that he always brings enthusiasm, competence, and expertise to his work. I look forward to hearing his testimony and to the important counsel that we can receive from the many witnesses who will appear today.

Thank you very much.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Senator Pell. The Chair will note, like you, the Chair has two other committees that are meeting this morning but we will live through it somehow.

Senator PELL. You are chairman, you have to stay.

Senator STAFFORD. The Chair is next very happy to recognize an old friend from House days, Congressman George Brown. Congressman, we are very happy to receive your statement next.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I must say that I am highly gratified this morning to see this bipartisan interest in this additional initiative of peace and to see the creation of a record which I believe will more than substantiate the need for such an institution.

I want to pay particular tribute to the leadership of Senator Matsunaga and Congressman Glickman in the House who have done such a great job with the Study Commission which made the recommendations to establish the Peace Academy and I know how strong their own interests have been in this subject.

I have been involved personally for the full 20 years since I have been back here in an effort to develop initiatives of this sort and I know that Senator Matsunaga has likewise and I think that we probably have reached the time when this gestation period is ready to bear some fruit.

As Senator Pell indicated, I am sure it is no coincidence that this hearing is being held at a time when the Nation is engaged in a study of the problems of nuclear war, when in California we had yesterday 750,000 signatures on a petition for a nuclear freeze filed with the appropriate officials and when all over this country we have a growing concern that we may be going down a path which may lead us to destruction.

I think this is perhaps best exemplified in the interest being devoted to that really outstanding book by Jonathan Schell, dealing with nuclear war in this country, which is attracting so much attention and may become the bible of a new generation of parents for nuclear war. And I was struck in Senator Hatfield's statement about the need to move ahead with any reasonable action at this time and then to build upon that structure which would meet our needs in the future. This is exactly how we have proceeded in the area of defense; we started out with one military academy and it has grown to a network of academies.

We have not only a network of academies for the young but a network of academies for the old, the war colleges and the various command schools which exist in the military. We have grown from that to other kinds of similar reoriented academies, the FBI has their academy dealing with crime and more recently I have been involved in the initiation of the Fire Academy which really has some interesting parallels with the Peace Academy, because it was set up with about the same level of funding proposed in this bill, basically for the purpose of preventing fire, although peripherally for fighting fires. But that basically is the local job of the fire department.

So these illustrate the way in which a complex structure develops over time and in my prepared remarks I have indicated that I see this Peace Academy as evolving perhaps in a similar way with a network of regional and perhaps national academies in other countries and I drew the parallel with the network of regional research facilities that we have in other areas, particularly in agriculture, which I am most familiar with, where just within the last few years we have developed a regional network, agri-research facilities aimed at solving basic problems of mankind, of providing adequate food for the multitudes of the world. These networks are really the promise of the future in that they allow us to tie together the best minds of every part of the world for the purpose of attacking the most serious problems of every part of the world and this is the kind of approach that we must take with the Peace Academy.

In this book of Jonathan Schell's, which I referred to, dealing with nuclear war, he quotes Plutarch and while I do not have the quotation in front of me, I remember the gist of it very well. Plutarch, speaking on politics and the fact that you cannot deal with the political problem in the world in an episodic way. You cannot focus on them for a short period of time and then think that you have solved the problem. Plutarch says if you are serious about politics, you must go into it for a lifetime basis. Similarly, if you are serious about the most important problem of modern day politics, the problem of peace, you must make it a lifetime concern. As an individual you must be motivated to devote that kind of effort to it and you must devote it to the creation of the institutional structures which will exemplify that kind of concern.

This, Mr. Chairman, is what the creation of the Peace Academy would do. I consider it to be, as I said before, an effort whose time has arrived. It could easily become a part of the record of this administration, which they will point back to with the greatest of pride, of almost anything that was accomplished during this period. And I would hope that we can see it in this way and move forward.

Mr. Chairman, I have a brief prepared statement which I would also like to have inserted in the record.

Senator STAFFORD. That will appear in the record in full.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Brown follows:]

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS, AND HUMANITIES

OF THE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

ON THE

U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

BY

CONGRESSMAN GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
(36th C.D. - CALIFORNIA)

April 21, 1982

MR. CHAIRMAN, I COMMEND THE ACTION OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOLDING HEARINGS ON THE IMPORTANT LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION, AND GREATLY APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY SUPPORT FOR THIS ENDEAVOR.

I AM SURE I NEED NOT TELL THIS SUBCOMMITTEE HOW VIOLENT AND AGGRESSIVE WORLD HISTORY HAS BEEN. DESPITE VAST DISTANCES AND VARIOUS CIVILIZATIONS, THE THREAD OF WAR AND VIOLENCE HAS BEEN PREVALENT. THIS VIOLENCE HAS OCCURRED PRIMARILY THROUGH ESCALATION OF CONFLICT, MISCALCULATIONS, AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS. TODAY'S TECHNOLOGY, HOWEVER, HAS SHORTENED DISTANCES AND TIME. INSTANTANEOUS COMMUNICATION, INFORMATION, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR TOTAL NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION HAS MADE WAR OBSOLETE AND INEXCUSABLE.

THE QUESTION WE HAVE BEFORE US TODAY, HOWEVER, IS HOW TO RELIEVE THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND MISCALCULATIONS WHICH LEAD TO THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. I BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IS ONE CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TOWARD THAT GOAL. PEACE IS NOT SIMPLY THE MERE ABSENCE OF WAR. THAT IS A TRUCE OR A CEASE-FIRE. PEACE IS ATTAINED THROUGH FRIENDSHIP, WHICH COMES THROUGH RESPECT AND AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, CULTURES, AND PERSPECTIVES. A PEACE ACADEMY, I BELIEVE, CAN BRING NOT ONLY AN UNDERSTANDING BUT AN ACCEPTANCE OF DIFFERENCES WHILE LEARNING HOW BEST TO RESOLVE POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SITUATIONS. IT COULD ACHIEVE THAT MOST EFFECTIVELY IF IT WERE TO BE THE FIRST, THE

PROTOTYPE, FOR A GROWING NUMBER OF REGIONAL AND NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMIES, PERHAPS SIMILAR TO THE GROWING NUMBER OF REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES, OPERATING UNDER THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF CGIAR (THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP FOR INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH).

I WILL NOT RAISE EXPECTATIONS OR OVERSTATE MY CASE BY MAINTAINING THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACE ACADEMY WILL RESOLVE ALL PROBLEMS. AND WITHIN A SHORT TIME PROPEL US ALL INTO UTOPIA. BUT IF WE INSIST UPON MILITARY MIGHT AS OUR SOLE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY, THEN WE WILL BE IN THE "PRE-WAR AND NOT A POST-WAR WORLD" DESCRIBED BY EUGENE ROSTOW LAST YEAR. THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEACE ACADEMY WILL BE A CONCRETE STATEMENT THAT THE CONGRESS DOES NOT CONCLUDE THAT WAR, ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR WAR, IS INEVITABLE. IT MAY ALSO HELP US OBTAIN THE TOOLS TO DIFFUSE THE "PRE-WAR" BOMB WE ARE SITTING ON.

I'VE USED THE WORD "MAY" DELIBERATELY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TOKEN PEACE ACADEMY, WITH LITTLE RESOURCES, MINIMAL SUPPORT AND RESPECT FROM POLICY-MAKERS, AND A RESTRICTIVE OR POORLY DRAFTED CHARTER WOULD BE A SYMBOLIC VICTORY ONLY. I HAVE CO-SPONSORED LEGISLATION WHICH IS A REASONABLE BEGINNING. HOWEVER, EVEN THIS LEGISLATION IS LESS THAN MOST OF THE SUPPORTERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE, AND IS, IN FACT, A SORT OF BARE-BONES APPROACH TO THE ISSUE. FOR AN EMBRYONIC ORGANIZATION, THIS IS ADEQUATE, BUT ONLY IF WE ALL UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR LETTING THE TOOLS OF "PEACE-MAKING" BE USED AS MUCH AS WE USE OUR TOOLS OF WAR.

SPECIFICALLY, I BELIEVE A U.S. PEACE ACADEMY SHOULD BE A CATALYST FOR ACTIVITIES ALREADY ON-GOING IN THE U.S. TODAY. IT SHOULD BE AN ANCHOR FOR DEVELOPING FIRST-RATE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF WAR, INCLUDING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, TRADE RIVALRIES, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AND OTHER FACTORS, EVEN ACCIDENTS--AND THE MEANS TO ACHIEVE PEACE. THERE SHOULD BE A FIRM AND COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE HISTORICAL REASONS FOR WAR AND HOW SOME WARS HAVE BEEN PREVENTED.

THE PYSCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE ARMS RACE AND HOW THEY LEAD TO WAR NEED ALSO TO BE EXAMINED. SURELY, WE CAN DO BETTER THAN THE "POP" PSYCHOLOGY WE'VE BEEN HEARING AS THE BRITISH WAR FLEET MOVES CLOSER TO ARGENTINA. THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY, CENTRAL TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDS DISPUTE, CANNOT BE IGNORED.

FINALLY, THE WAYS AND MEANS OF DETERRENCE ALSO NEED TO BE EXAMINED. THE FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION, A GROUP WHICH I HAVE LONG RESPECTED AND ADMIRED, RECENTLY PUBLISHED A NEWSLETTER DEVOTED TO THE TOPIC OF DETERRENCE. THE TITLE, "DETERRENCE BY FEAR OR BY FRIENDSHIP?" SAYS IT ALL. A U.S. PEACE ACADEMY WOULD BE INVALUABLE TO THE CONGRESS AND OTHERS IN DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS IN ANSWERING THIS QUESTION.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I KNOW I HAVE NOT ANSWERED ALL OF YOUR QUESTIONS. I KNOW I COME BEFORE YOU AS AN ADVOCATE OF THE LEGISLATION ALREADY INTRODUCED. I KNOW THAT MY OWN VIEWS CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED BIASED. YET, I TRULY BELIEVE THAT PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION, IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL DISCUSSION OF THE NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST, WOULD HAVE A BENEFICIAL IMPACT. AFTER ITS ENACTMENT, IT WILL BE UP TO US TO MAKE SURE THIS IS NOT A HOLLOW ACHIEVEMENT.

I THANK YOU FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY.

Senator **Stafford**. And the Chair at this point, with the concurrence of Senator Pell and I am sure of Senator Randolph, is going to announce a markup date for this bill of May 12 and assuming that we can move expeditiously on that date we will be able to get the bill ready to meet the May 15 deadline.

I thought Senator Matsunaga would like to know that.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you. Thank you ever so much.

Senator **Randolph**. I would like to join you in the effort on scheduling timely consideration of the bill prior to May 15. I think it is an excellent idea.

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you very much, Senator Randolph.

The next witness will be a member of the Commission, Congressman Dan Glickman.

Senator **Randolph**. Before the Representative begins, it is not a cursory comment, but I want to say something for the record about those witnesses who come here and testify. I will not take the time to go into the points they make but Senator Hatfield is so right in saying, not once but three times, that time and space are no more and that is exactly true. It has been true for a long time.

And Senator Matsunaga, we owe to you a debt of gratitude and understanding. We will say more about it in the record. You understand how I feel about your leadership and the same way of course with Representative Glickman as he talks with us. These hearings are not just another hearing on Capitol Hill. Not for one moment. This is a new day on Capitol Hill in reference to peacemaking and we must make it a day of progress—and in no sense are we retreating. We do not have to retreat this year on Capitol Hill. The momentum is on our side.

What we need is the feeling that we are on a crusade for peace in which many, many people of both parties and persuasions can work together.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you, Senator Randolph.

Congressman Glickman.

STATEMENT OF HON. DAN GLICKMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

Mr. **Glickman**. I would also ask unanimous consent that my entire statement appear in the record.

Senator **Stafford**. Without objection it will be.

Mr. **Glickman**. I am proud to be here as a cosponsor of the bill. We have 104 House cosponsors. They span the ideological spectrum. I sense that is true in the Senate as well, which I think reflects the fact that all Americans want their elected representatives to do more for peace than what we have done in the past.

I think the constituency in the interest of this academy is reflected in the numbers of people and the types of people and the beliefs of people who are sponsoring the bill.

There are a few differences in the House and the Senate bill that I thought I would bring to the attention of this body. They are not major but they are some that I thought were important at least.

The Senate bill calls the institution the "United States Academy of Peace." The House bill terms it the "U.S. Academy of Peace and

Conflict Resolution." I feel the additional words more accurately portray the mission of the Academy. The word "peace" has just different meanings for everyone.

Senator **Stafford**. I was going to say, Congressman, usually it is the Senate that uses more words than the House.

Mr. **Glickman**. I come here today to change that.

I recall the difficulties that the Commissioners had on agreeing on the title of the Academy. While I am certain that the people familiar with the Peace Academy proposal generally understand its purpose, others could view it quite differently. The words "Peace Academy" could connote the idea of an institution limited to the study of pacificism. From that perspective, it could be viewed as an opposition group to U.S. military policy. That was certainly not the intent of the Commission, nor is it what is intended in the proposed academy legislation. We have to be sure however that its name does not leave a mistaken impression.

The name of the academy should reflect the fact that it is a dynamic institution whose studies are not conducted in a vacuum. I hope the information and principles generated from those studies will be useful to actual conflict resolution situations. The term "conflict resolution," demonstrates that along with the concept of "peace," we are concerned about developing actual tools in the peacemaking process that will be useful in settling real-life disputes. This can be clarified right from the start in the name of the institution.

In connection with the budget question, we believe as the Senate bill, that private funding for the academy and the inclusion of the user fee concept in its operational budget are very important. Both are provided for in my bill. If the academy is to work it must be premised on a public-private partnership. This partnership should include financial arrangements on the part of the private sector. I foresee a substantial role by private sector and nonprofit entities, as well, in the Academy and would hope that both would take part in the training sessions as well as facilitating the studies that would be taking place at the Academy. Certainly, the practical experience of private sector and nonprofit entities in multilateral conflicts, not to mention their potential for benefiting from enhanced conflict resolution techniques make their participation logical. Moreoever, to insure that the Academy would be self-sustaining I would imagine that most of its services would be offered on a fee basis.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to expand upon my statement.

Senator Randolph, I think it was Senator Randolph who indicated the President's response to the bill. It was dated in a letter, April 13, to Senator Murkowski, signed by Kenneth Duberstein, assistant to the President. I would like to read you the operative parts of that letter. The staff of your committee was kind enough to give me a copy of the letter just now.

> Because of current budgetary constraints, the administration is unable to establish an Academy of Peace. We share your commitment to world peace, however, and hope that a strengthened economy coupled with the work already being done by private universities and other institutions will help us to achieve this goal.

I would make several points in response. First of all, there's the issue of severe budgetary constraints. I think it was Senator Jepsen who pointed out that one F-18 could cover the cost of the Academy. But we are spending $183 million in fiscal 1983 for military bands, and while I have no objection to military bands, because they boost the troops morale, that is a considerable figure. It would seem with just the increase in military bands in the last 3 years we could almost cover the cost of this Academy.

As I said before, I think bands are important but I have never known a Soviet tuba to be a threat to the United States.

Mr. GLICKMAN. I am not indicating that we should eliminate large parts of the defense budget. But, I think in perspective Senator Jepsen was correct.

My second point is that I view the Peace Academy is not inimicable to our defense budget. I view it as part of our defense budget. It was Machiavelli who talked about power. What is power? It is ability to influence and persuade. Certainly, part of that is how much weaponry you have but another part of it is in your skills to achieve and keep peace.

I think Jimmy Carter did show during the Camp David agreement that part of the power of the United States is our ability to get two nations to peacefully mediate a dispute. Therefore, a Peace Academy is part of our defense capabilities. It would enhance the power of the United States by allowing us to achieve additional peaceful resolution of problems without resort to agression or confrontation. Would not it be nice for our country, the United States of America, the most powerful nation in the world, not only to have an Academy in all of the military services but to have an Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Our great Nation would be the world power to do that. This Academy would promote nonmilitary conflict resolution techniques through working hand in hand with prudent military leaders. The establishment of this Academy could go far to abating global tensions. If the Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution were in current operation we would have greater availability of experts and mediation to advise world leaders in conflict.

I cannot help but think that the sensitive situation in the Falkland Islands would be closer to being resolved if we had more trained mediators and, in our dense and complex world, I am afraid similar situations are just around the corner unless we act to insure that we have peacemakers who can successfully reslove potential confrontation.

As this country observes "Ground Zero Week," I feel that incorporating nonconflict military techniques into our overall defense strategy should begin now.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Glickman follows:]

DAN GLICKMAN

Fourth District-Kansas

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE DAN GLICKMAN (D-KS)
BEFORE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS,
AND HUMANITIES
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1982

I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify before the Subcommittee today on the Peace Academy bill. As the sponsor of the House bill, H.R. 5088, I am delighted about the degree of support the bill has received. We now have 104 House cosponsors. The support of the Senate bill has been equally impressive. In fact, if the bill is brought to the Senate floor, votes of cosponsors alone will be sufficient to pass it.

It was a privilege to be appointed to the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution and to serve with the Honorable Spark Matsunaga who has authored the Senate bill. The Commission, under Spark's leadership, labored for a year in carrying out its mandate to determine whether an academy should be established. After exhaustive hearings in which educators, businessmen, church leaders and many others offered their ideas on the concept of a Peace Academy and alternate approaches, the Commission agreed that a centralized institution for the training of conflict resolution skills and the conduct of peace studies was indeed warranted. As a result, the Commission recommended the formation of such an academy.

While bills have now been introduced, some details of the proposal have not yet been hammered out. I would like to focus my testimony on those areas which still require our examination.

As many of you know, the House and Senate bills are drafted somewhat differently. Those differences developed for both substantive and procedural reasons. I would like to review them here.

First, the name of the academy differs in the two bills. The Senate bill calls the institution "the U.S. Academy of Peace." The House bill terms it "the U.S. Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution." I feel the additional words more accurately portray the mission of the Academy. The word "peace" conveys an abstract concept which has different meanings for just about everyone. I recall the difficulty that the Commissioners themselves had in agreeing on a definition of the word. While I am certain that people familiar with the Peace Academy proposal generally understand its purpose, others could view it quite differently. The words "Peace Academy" could connote the idea of an institution limited to the study of pacificism. From that perspective, it could be viewed as an opposition group to U.S. military policy. That was certainly not the intent of the Commission, nor is it what is intended in the proposed Academy legislation. We have to be sure, however, that its name does not leave a mistaken impression.

Moreover, I feel the name of the Academy should reflect the fact that it is a dynamic institution whose studies are not conducted in a vacuum. I hope the information and principles generated from those studies will be useful to actual conflict resolution situations. The term, "conflict resolution," demonstrates that along with the concept of "peace," we are concerned about developing actual tools in the peace making process that will be useful in settling real-life disputes. This can be clarified right from the start in the Academy's name.

Second, the House bill does not include specific budget figures as the Senate bill does. At a time when budget considerations are paramount in our minds, I felt it was unfair to include figures which might not accurately reflect what an Academy might cost. Rather than using ball park figures, I chose to omit specific funding at this time. As the legislation evolves, I expect that we will have a more accurate idea of what to budget for the Academy's start up and operational expenses and how much can initially be found from private sources. Figures can be inserted at that time.

In connection with the budget question, private funding for the Academy and the inclusion of the user fee concept in its operational budget are very important in my mind. Both are provided for in my bill. If the Academy is to work, it must be premised on a public-private partnership. This partnership should include financial arrangements on the part of the private sector. I foresee a substantial role by private sector and non-profit entities, as well, in the Academy and would hope that both would take part in the training sessions as well as facilitating the studies that would be taking place at the Academy. Certainly, the practical experience of private sector and non-profit entities in multilateral conflicts, not to mention their potential for benefitting from enhanced conflict resolution techniques, make their participation logical. Moreover, to ensure that the Academy would be self-sustaining, I would imagine that most of its services would be offered on a fee basis. Such a public-private partnership should also generate a wide base of support for the Academy to presumably justify its continued operation.

Third, the texts of the House and Senate bills differ on a procedural consideration. H.R. 5088 was drafted to emphasize the international nature of the Academy, at least in part, to assure its referral to just one Committee of the House. Whether we like to admit it or not, getting any committee action at all on a piece of legislation is very difficult in the House, given the huge number of bills referred to each committee. Joint referral only makes it that much harder to move legislation successfully to enactment. The decision to draft the bill in the way I described was predicated on sheer pragmatism. I wanted to maximize the possibility of having some kind of action on the bill and going the single committee route seemed to be the way to achieve that aim. I would add that less than enthusiastic support in the House for legislative initiatives to address the problem of domestic violence presents a strong, practical argument for a predominant international focus in this legislation.

In conclusion, I'd like to emphasize that the differences I have raised here are not major in nature. I am confident that they can be worked out in the course of Congressional consideration. Raising them here is only a means to generate discussion and in no way reflects upon my underlying commitment to the Academy proposal, which I can say in all candor, remains unalterable. I am firmly convinced that the Academy can lessen the shortage of skilled negotiators with refined conflict resolution training. The studies conducted under the Academy's auspices will help broaden the current scope of knowledge about peace making techniques. In an increasingly tense world, that can only prove to be helpful. The Academy would not, however, supplant the activities of the State Department and comparable foreign agencies, it would only supplement and facilitate them.

Regrettably, we have no reason to believe that current global tensions will abate of their own accord. The sensitive situation in the Falkland Islands certainly reinforces that point. But I, for one, have not resigned myself to a world of infrequently used and, to a certain extent, unrefined, conflict resolution techniques. I remain firm in my conviction that the Academy will be a significant step toward the speedy and effective resolution of disputes, which, I am afraid to say, seem to be inevitable in our tense and complex world. We should give the Academy a chance to help make the earth a little safer place to live.

That concludes my remarks, Mr. Chairman. I will be pleased to answer any questions.

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you very much, Mr. Glickman.

For the subcommittee I want to express our appreciation to all of you, all of our congressional colleagues who have testified here this morning.

The Chair is under the impression that Senator Matsunaga either has or is about to become a member of the full committee that parents this committee.

Senator **Matsunaga**. That is right.

Senator **Stafford**. And that being the case, the Chair at the conclusion of the congressional testimony would invite Senator Matsunaga to join us here at the committee table.

Senator **Randolph**. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a comment to the testimony of Representative Glickman, only a moment.

Mr. Glickman, I do not speak politically. I only speak factually. The letter from which you read which I brought to the attention of the hearing earlier today, that letter went to 17 Republicans who serve in the Senate of the United States. It was not a letter to one individual, Senator Murkowski or another individual. It was a situation in which the 17 Members received a letter from the President refusing to support a peace bill.

Now, I imagine that those 17, who believe in what many others of the total of 53 Senators are attempting to do, that they will not react angrily to the letter but, hopefully they will continue, not only by letter, but that they will organize themselves into a group and seek an appointment at the White House with the President, which I believe he would grant. And so I have no right to say, "Mr. Chairman, what should be done?" But, for the record, I want to indicate that this would be a further opportunity and challenge to those 17 Republican Members that have written such a letter, to continue their support and to seek an appointment with the President to discuss the matter in person.

Thank you very much.

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you very much, Senator, and now we come to our first panel.

The Chair would ask the witnesses on the first panel to come to the witness table. They would be our former colleague and personal friend, Hon. John Dellenback, president, Christian College Consortium; Dr. George Johnson, president, George Mason University; Dr. James Laue, director, Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of Missouri in St. Louis; and Hon. Moorhead Kennedy, former Foreign Service operator with the State Department and Iranian hostage; director, Cathedral Peace Institute in New York.

Gentlemen, you are aware that we have a number of other panels that wish to testify and the Chair would appreciate your cooperation in limiting your statements to 10 minutes.

Any additional material that you have or a full statement that you have we will place in the record as if read.

If your statement could be summarized in 10 minutes, it would accommodate the committee a great deal. In the Environment and Public Works Committee which Senator Randolph and I share responsibility for operating, we have a timing device which we do not have up here. So we will proceed on the honor system and, Mr. Dellenback, we will start with you.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN DELLENBACK, FORMER MEMBER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, PRESIDENT, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE COALITION, WASHINGTON, D.C.; DR. GEORGE W. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, FAIRFAX, VA.; DR. JAMES LAUE, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR METROPOLITAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS, MO.; AND HON. MOORHEAD KENNEDY, FORMER FSO WITH STATE DEPARTMENT AND IRANIAN HOSTAGE, DIRECTOR, CATHEDRAL PEACE INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, A PANEL

Mr. **Dellenback**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

For the record, I am John Dellenback. I served for 8 years as a Member of the House of Representatives and served 2 years as Director of the Peace Corps. And I serve now as President of the Christian College Coalition. I was, like Senator Matsunaga, appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate as a Member of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. I served for a year in that regard.

Before I make my statement, Mr. Chairman, we have heard from prior witnesses comments on some of the individual members of this subcommittee and the Senate. I join strongly in commending most particularly Senator Matsunaga, Senator Randolph, and Senator Hatfield for the way they have continued to carry this issue time after time through the years, not just suddenly rising however strongly they felt about it and then making one statement in that regard and then backing away from it, but carrying the ball in lean times as well as not so lean times.

I think there is one other group that deserves a brief word of commendation and that is the staff of the chairman of this subcommittee and the staff of the other members of the subcommittee and the other Members of the Senate who have taken this lead. So often staff functions in the background and do not get commendation and those of us who have had the privilege in serving in the Congress know how critically important their roles are. We thank them for having brought about this particular day.

Let me indicate my appreciation for this opportunity to testify before you today.

For some reason when the good Lord created humankind, he stopped short of making any but one of us perfect. Human nature is such that we will inevitably have conflicts. Some conflicts will be between individuals and some will be between nations. Some of these conflicts will be serious. Some will be trivial and could become serious.

There is no problem in which the United States does not have some stake. That means since the Congress of the United States is charged with the ultimate responsibility for setting national policy there is no such problem about which you Senators do not have a valid concern and in which this Nation does not have at least a potential involvement. Sometimes that involvement will be of a deep substantive nature, sometimes that involvement will be of a symbolic or perceived nature. The world has no problem today more critical than that of international peace. The existance and spread of nuclear weapons makes such peace literally essential to the continued existence of civilization as we know it.

Our Nation's involvement in the world takes many forms. Through the relationships of our citizens we are involved with the people of other nations and with those nations in economics, education, tourism, military matters, science, diplomacy, and otherwise. There will inevitably be conflicts that arise in many of these areas and relationships. The peaceful solution of those conflicts will depend upon the capacities and predispositions of the people, the key people involved. With its emphasis on research, education and training and information services, the U.S. Academy of Peace will have a tremendous opportunity to help those key people acquire crucial knowledge and to help equip some of those key people in each of the areas to resolve those inevitable conflicts without descent into violence. For all of the colleges and universities throughout the Nation, there does not now exist a focus of national effort in this field, nor is there existent an instrument capable of conducting such a focused effort.

However strong our Nation is militarily, and however committed we are not to use that military strength unnecessarily, we do not and cannot as a nation stand alone. Our allies to the West and to the East, to the North and South, all dread the possibility of war, some as much as we do and some perhaps more, because they fear that their territory may once again be the first battleground. And over and above and beyond, the substantive values which will flow from the establishment of the U.S. Academy of Peace will be the symbolic and perceived values of both our allies and our potential adversaries, sensing from such action on the part of the leaders of this Nation how serious is the intent of this Nation to walk every road which could lead to avoiding violence in the world's search for peace and justice. Far too little in the way of concrete action, Mr. Chairman, has to date taken place on the part of this Nation and its leaders that makes our Nation's basic fundamental absolute commitment to acting and not just talking about peace, really real to other nations of the world.

If time permitted I would welcome the opportunity to expand at length on these subjects. But the time of the Senators is at a premium and I shall close with these few final comments.

We as a nation simultaneously will be walking every possible road to solve inevitable conflicts with a minimum of violence. It would be a major historic mistake, gentlemen of the committee, to reject the possibilities offered by the proposal for the establishment of the U.S. Academy of Peace. I have no illusions as to its promise. The academy will not alone create peace and none of us think that. It is an enabling institution based on the premise that international peace is of tremendously deep concern to the people of this Nation and to others, regardless of their nationality or of their vocation and possessed of the potential to help harness knowledge and expand skills for peace. The U.S. Academy of Peace represents an extraordinary opportunity whose time is very much now. Its cost is relatively low and an as an investment in the future its value may be priceless.

I urge favorable and speedy action by this subcommittee on S. 1889 and give you my thanks for the opportunity to testify before you today.

Senator **Stafford**. We thank you very much, Mr. Dellenback, for joining us, for your assistance to this subcommittee. And as you heard us say, we are going to mark up the bill on May 12; I anticipate no difficulties in getting it done quite expeditiously.

Mr. **Dellenback**. May we give you our commendations for having cited that and the work that we are going to see on that day, favorable action.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity to thank Congressman Dellenback for the invaluable role that he played as a member of the Commission and his counsel and dedication truly deserves commendation.

Senator **Stafford**. The Chair will indulge the audience once in a while, but that, I must tell you, is in violation of Senate rules. We will not enforce them today, however.

The next witness will be Dr. George Johnson, who is president of George Mason University.

Mr. **Johnson**. Mr. Chairman, Senator Matsunaga, as a president of George Mason University, the University of Northern Virginia, located in Fairfax, Va., it is my purpose today to call the attention of this subcommittee to the advantages of locating the principal offices and/or model training program of a National Academy of Peace at George Mason University, and to offer the full facilities and support of this university to the Peace Academy. I wish to renew the invitation conveyed by Dr. Bryant Wedge to the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution on July 23, 1980, to consider a site for the continuing development of the Academy in association with our university.

When a former member of the board of visitors, Mr. Richard Bishop, called the attention of myself and our Board to the movement to establish an academy of peace and conflict resolution in the Congress, we immediately recognized the public value that such an institution would have and determined to provide every assistance possible to its development. With a current student body of 14,000, George Mason is a relatively new and innovative university, one of whose principal commitments is to the improvement of public administration in our country. We believe that we could provide a sound institutional site and supportive resources to the Academy and, frankly, that the university would also benefit from becoming that much better able to contribute more visibly to public life.

With this in mind, I contacted Mr. Henry Barringer and Dr. Bryant Wedge, who had been closely associated with the National Peace Academy campaign and invited them to establish a project to consider how we might best proceed. The project rapidly evolved into one of developing a prototype curriculum of training for peacemakers or third party interveners in disputes. They did develop such a curriculum and it has been approved for the offering of a master of science degree in conflict management by the Virginia State Council on Higher Education. We plan to admit the first 40 students in the fall of this year and in the spring of 1984 to graduate the first class of professionals rigorously trained in the theory and practice of conflict resolution. In short, the project which we began quietly became a program and shortly after was designated as the center for conflict resolution.

The center for conflict resolution has attracted a growing interest from persons of great academic distinctions across our country and other lands. Such distinguished scholars as Herbert Kelman of Harvard University; Dr. John Burton, director of the centre for the analysis of conflict, University of Kent in England; Prof. James Laue of the center for metropolitan studies, University of Missouri, who sits to my right; Prof. Kenneth Boulding, professor of economics, University of Colorado; Prof. Roger Fisher of the school of law, Harvard University; Prof. Manfred Halprin, of Princeton; and Dr. Landrum Bolling, of Georgetown University, have formed an advisory group.

In addition, a very strong faculty board, composed of members of departments of sociology, anthropology, public affairs, psychology and communications have assumed responsibility for developing criteria of curriculum, admissions, promotions, graduation requirements and for special projects. In short, we have developed a miniature apparatus of a strongly interdisciplinary nature.

In the latter connection, although we have gone about this quietly, our little center is besieged by requests for advice and service from local, national and international institutions. We have, for instance, provided counsel to the Fairfax County Police Department, to the Fairfax County public school system in relation to racial tensions, to the Virginia Board of Corrections on installing grievance systems, and to the ombudsman of that board on his functions. We have worked with officials of the Department of Interior on questions of mediating environmental disputes—those, for example, the siting of dams, powerplants, and other such installations which invariably arouse strong passions on all sides. Internationally, we have carried on discussions about such major questions as nuclear disarmanent, the Middle East crisis, and, currently, have worked with the Harvard negotiation project on the resolution of the Falkland Islands dispute. As a result of this experience, we can assure this committee that there is a vast market for services as rapidly as they can be made available.

So strong is our conviction on this matter, that as I advised Senator Matsunaga when he spoke at our university on March 24, 1981, the university is determined to proceed regardless of whether or not the present legislation should come to pass or whether or not a site for a peace academy should be established in association with our university.

In warmup programs to test the feasibility of what seemed like a good idea we have offered two major courses, one in conflict and conflict communication; the second a proseminar on conflict resolution.

They have attracted the earnest and enthusiastic participation of a group of students who include two Fairfax County police officers, two Senate aides, civil servants from the Peace Corps, the Department of Defense, USAID, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Education, and the Department of Labor. It includes a black woman civil rights leader. And it includes some persons who simply define themselves as citizens committed to the improvement of their community and their Nation.

In sum, there is a need, there is a practical response and there are people available to make this academy a reality.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today.

Senator RANDOLPH [presiding]. Thank you very, very much.

I would make a comment. How long have you been associated with George Mason University?

Dr. JOHNSON. Four years, Senator.

Senator RANDOLPH. And you started approximately 2 years ago with this program?

Dr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Senator RANDOLPH. I only want the record to show that I did contact the university and endorse the program that you are carrying forward.

We thank you for your testimony. I had to be away from the table while our former colleague John Dellenback was speaking. I want to acknowledge my personal relationship with him through the years and his leadership in the Christian College Coalition.

May I ask you to take a moment if you would, John—when you say consortium—I want to know how many colleges are included in that consortium?

Mr. DELLENBACK. We have 63 colleges which are bound together in this particular grouping; all the way from the North to the South, to the east coast and the west coast.

Senator RANDOLPH. Presumably those are independent colleges?

Mr. DELLENBACK. Yes, you are right. They are independent so far as association to the Government is concerned.

Senator RANDOLPH. I appreciate this very much.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Is this a time to make a strong pitch for the student aid program?

Senator RANDOLPH. Well, it seems whenever I open my mouth I am doing that.

Mr. DELLENBACK. You are a strong advocate in that field and we are grateful.

Senator RANDOLPH. I do not mean to just pass pleasantries, but I think what I am saying here is for the record and is important, as I indicated to the 17 Members who signed the letter to the President. Now they have had the President's reply. I think they now have an opportunity for a second step, and they should go to the White House. Sparky, maybe you could encourage them to do that?

Senator MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I might say before we go to the third speaker that I had the great privilege of visiting with Dr. Johnson at George Mason University and I was very much impressed with the layout and there might be a strong possibility of even recommending those facilities, if the university will agree, for academy purposes.

Dr. JOHNSON. Thank you, Senator, we will.

Senator RANDOLPH. While you are speaking of the site for facilities, Sparky, for the physical plant of institution itself, I have done much reading on the Academy of Peace which will be created. Perhaps many people are not aware of the creation of a Peace Academy in Costa Rica. I am not sure whether many of you have been studying what is being done in that country. I only wish to indicate that there are other stirrings in countries as well as our own, on matters of this kind.

Dr. James Laue, would you please? We are very happy to have you.

Dr. LAUE. Thank you, Senator Randolph. I am the director of the center for metropolitan studies at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. As you know, I had the privilege to serve as Vice Chairman of the Peace Academy Commission, chaired by Senator Matsunaga and brought into existence with your help.

Let me also thank not only you and Senator Stafford but Senator Hatfield, who has brought us to this point today. I would also remark that I believe it is appropriate to ask that the entire report of the Peace Academy Commission, To Establish the United States Academy of Peace, be made an official part of the record of this hearing. I know that Senator Matsunaga is making provision for that. As Vice Chairman of the Commission I spent many days working on the final report, and I can attest that it is an accurate and judicious record of what the Commissioners heard and of their deliberations.

I would like to spend my——

Senator RANDOLPH. I think that is a very important request. So often here on the Hill we have volumes and volumes of testimony, let us say historical documents that are compiled and Dr. Laue, no one ever sees what has been said, no one ever reads what has been said. They are closeted away somewhere. You will make available and see that there is a proper distribution, will you?

Dr. LAUE. Here is an opportunity for them to see it. It is available, as you know, through the U.S. Government Printing Office.

Senator RANDOLPH. Thank you very much.

Dr. LAUE. I would like to talk to you about what a U.S. Academy of Peace might do and what it would be. What I would intend to do is highlight parts of the testimony.

First of all, please turn to page 5 in which I list on the bottom of that page several of the types of things that a Peace Academy might do that are relevant to the kinds of conflicts and crises that we face today. Essentially what I am suggesting here is that one of the most important things that such an Academy might do is to provide a permanent ongoing backup capability for our foreign relations, particularly as it comes to trying to do peacemaking and mediation in situations such as those that face us today.

For example, an Academy could maintain a computerized data bank of all existing treaties and the issues, conditions, time limits, historical background, and negotiation patterns relating to the treaties and the nations involved.

An Academy could provide an ongoing working group of specialists in, for example, the negotiating behavior of the Soviets and other nations, or perhaps the common characteristics of successful international mediators, as they have been researched over the years.

It would be possible for an Academy to conduct seminars for Members of the Congress on crisis issues and the background of those issues and those nations as they come up.

It could create, for example, a pool of advisory groups from its faculty and researchers on conflict situations such as the Iranian hostage crisis or the Falklands crisis going on today.

In short, Senators, such an Academy could create a critical mass of thinkers over a substantial period of time to pursue an understanding of the causes of sustained peace among nations, in contrast to the rather narrowly focused crisis response nature of much of the factfinding and research that goes on in the field today.

I would call your attention to pages 10, 11 and 12 which lay out some analytical categories for understanding peacemaking activities, and raise some of the types of questions that conflict analysts and people preparing to go into the field as mediators or conciliators or negotiators should ask. One of the things that many of us have been stressing is that what a nation or organization wants most in a conflict situation is to have a clear idea of the options that are available before responding, so one does not take the hard or forceful action when it may not be necessary. Nations need to keep their options open and exercise more control in conflict situations so they do not simply respond to what appears on the surface. I think that by maintaining an ongoing catalog, as it were, of conflicts and their resolution among the nations of the world—and especially of their negotiating patterns—we make it much less possible that we will get drawn into something in a role that we do not really want to play.

So on page 12 of the testimony, I list a number of the analytical questions that this or any nation ought to consider before it begins to play a mediation role in, say, the Malvinas crisis or choses its strategy in a hostage situation. What is the geopolitical and historical setting of the conflict? Who are the parties? The indirect parties with interests in the situation? What are their most vital interests and their respective power? What are the major issues? What mechanisms already exist in the situation for peaceful resolution of the parties' differences? And on and on.

This is a condensation of a 20-page outline of such questions that one could ask in any conflict situation, which will tell you much more about that conflict situation than any but the most fanatic academics might wish to know. The point is that we are making important strides in the field of conflict analysis.

Finally, I would make a few comments on how you would apply some of these ways of thinking about conflict to recent and current conflicts and crises in the world.

In my testimony I comment on the role of Henry Kissinger and his Middle East shuttle diplomacy. His role is referred to as "mediation with muscle," which I would characterize as the role of arbitrator in mediator's clothing. I recommend for your reading the excellent book by Jeffrey Rubin from which this analysis comes, as indicated in my testimony.

I also analyze to a limited extent the process leading to the Camp David accords on the Middle East, and how the skills of Lord Carrington and others arrived at a peaceful transition of power in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Analysis of some aspects of the Iranian hostage situation are included, and we will hear more about that from Ambassador Kennedy. A major point is that we were often hamstrung in our efforts to resolve that conflict because we could not, through the formal channels of diplomacy, offer formal recognition to either the Iranian revolutionary council or the students, two very important parties. We were unable to adequately use the informal and unofficial sources that could get us the communication and proto-bargaining we needed throughout that situation.

In Central America, we stand at a point of potential maturation in the international dispute resolution system because of the offer of Mexico to serve as a mediator; among the parties would be the United States. If the United States is willing to conceive of its interest as a first or second party, being mediated by a third party which militarily is a less stronger nation—if it could conceive of our interests in that way—we will have made a tremendous step toward understanding the variety of roles that nations can play in peace-making activities.

Finally, then, think with me about the current crisis in the Malvinas or Falklands, I would comment that the shuttle diplomacy model that was developed by Secretary Kissinger and others in the Middle East has been applied with some success and some lack of success in the Falklands situation. As the Christian Science Monitor and other sources have pointed out, it is very difficult in attempting to get a mediated settlement when 18 hours must pass between getting a set of positions on paper by one party and then carrying them to the other party. Party A can reconsider and back out, and party B has all its objections well developed by the time the shuttling mediator delivers the latest proposal. It also does not provide the opportunity for the informal floating of solutions that can take place when the parties are face to face for an extended period of bargaining.

I think the Reagan administration has taken a highly significant step—and a risk—in dispatching Secretary Haig to attempt to mediate this dispute and avoid violent confrontation. My view, however, is that moving the negotiations to a mutually agreeable site could be the best course in the Malvinas situation. Secretary Haig, I believe, should continue to be the leader of the U.S. mediation effort with extensive on-site technical assistance and a clearly designated high level alter-ego who can be dispatched with important messages and also carry on the negotiations himself or herself when appropriate. It seems to me a change in the process at this point could provide a rationale for certain pullbacks in the military positions of Great Britain and Argentina, and also could get us out of the difficulty of having one of the most important officials in an interested party's government serving as a full-time mediator, which is something of a conflict in roles.

I am inviting you now to think with me as we might think in a Peace Academy. If a negotiated settlement is to be achieved in the Malvinas Islands crisis, I would say that it will have at least the following elements in it:

First, an agreement on sovereignty. Perhaps the type of lease-back arrangement already proposed by the British for the Falklands and currently in effect in Hong Kong would be a possibility.

Second, an agreement on the distribution and duration of mineral rights. I think it would be impossible for Great Britain to walk away without some claim on mineral rights.

Third, a plan for the future of the 1,800 residents of the Malvinas Islands.

Fourth, face-saving mechanism for all sides.

Fifth, a timetable for implementing whatever changes are negotiated.

Sixth a mechanism for monitoring the implementation and resolving disputes which arise.

In closing, want to make a comment on how appropriate this time is for us to deal with peace and peacemaking in a systematic, scientific sustained way such as a Peace Academy could do.

In many ways I would say that President Reagan himself is one of the most important leaders of the peace movement today. On the one hand, he has been a catalyst to, if not a direct cause of, the revitalization and broadening of the base of peace movements in the United States and Europe through his proposed defense budgets, the tough talk to the Soviets emanating from the White House and State and Defense, and his statements on nuclear deployment and warfare in Europe.

On the other hand, the President's speeches have always stressed negotiation in tandem with military strength; he sees the two approaches, as Senator Jepsen pointed out. He said on October 1, 1981, that he could not imagine a situation in which a nuclear war would be winnable. And his administration now is involved in actively advocating negotiation and/or mediation in the two locations I spoke about, Central America and the Malvinas or Falkland Islands.

I think those are important signs coming from the administration. Whether it may formally support the initiative for a Peace Academy or not, I think these are important signs that the administration understands many of the things the Commission has learned, and has taken some important initiatives itself.

I think the 97th could go down in history as the peace Congress and I would urge you to help make it happen.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Laue follows:]

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TESTIMONY OF JAMES H. LAUE
ON S. 1889, THE U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE ACT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

6226 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

April 21, 1982
10:00 a.m.

* * * *

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Senators, Friends:

My name is James H. Laue. I am Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies and a professor of sociology at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. I had the honor of serving as Vice Chairman with Chairman Senator Spark M. Matsunaga on the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, having been appointed to the Commission by President Carter in December 1979. As you know, S. 1889, which we are considering today, is a result of the work of our Commission, so I am especially pleased to be able to appear before you.

It is also gratifying to appear before this Subcommittee because your forerunner body had the foresight to conduct the first hearings in our nation's history on the idea of a Federal institution devoted to the systematic study of peace and peacemaking. Senator Pell chaired those initial hearings on S. 1776, the George Washington U.S. Peace Academy Act, in May 1976 -- hearings which began the process that has brought us these many steps closer to a visible national commitment to "peace learning" today.

For the record, I wish to commend to your serious attention the final report of the Commission, To Establish the United States Academy of Peace. It should be a part of the official record of this hearing in its entirety, for it reports on the work of the Commission in Washington and in 12 cities where public hearings were held throughout the nation, analyzes the need for an Academy and the unique experience and capabilities the United States would bring to such an endeavor, documents the growth and content of the field of peacemaking and conflict resolution, and offers specific recommendations for the establishment of a federally-chartered not-for-profit corporation, the United States Academy of Peace. As Vice Chairman of the Commission, I spent many days in helping organize and edit the final report, and I can confidently recommend it to you as an accurate and judicious record of what the Commission learned.

The University of Missouri is an equal employment and educational opportunity institution.

I also want to express thanks for the leadership of Senator Matsunaga in bringing the Commission into existence and in moving the idea of a formal national commitment to the study and practice of peacemaking as close to becoming a reality as it is today. The Senator's staff and those working with us in the Department of Education were living tribute to the highest ideals of government service through their conscientious work on this project.

I am grateful for the roles played by Senators Jennings Randolph and Mark Hatfield in championing this practical approach to peace for many years, and for the sponsorship which you, Mr. Chairman, and other members of this Subcommittee and the full Committee have given to S. 1889.

It gives me pleasure, too, to publicly thank the other seven Commissioners for their hard work and cooperation in discharging the responsibilities of the Commission. We were blessed with an excellent staff, and they deserve a great deal of credit for the thorough process, the final report and the legislation which is before you today. I am especially grateful to William J. Spencer for his leadership as Staff Director of the Commission, and Charles Duryea Smith who, as Special Assistant to Chairman Matsunaga during the latter days of the Commission's life, was responsible for the organization and writing of the final report which serves as the basis for your deliberations on these critical matters.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

My message to you today may be summarized as follows:

Interest in constructive approaches to peacemaking, and fear of the threat of nuclear annihilation, are at all-time highs among the American citizenry today.

The United States Academy of Peace offers an immediate practical step that can be taken to respond to this expressed interest of the people and to promote the peace and security of the nation and the world.

Following a long and effective American tradition, the Academy would conduct research, education, training and public outreach on international peacemaking and conflict resolution, paying close attention to what we have learned about the efficacy of such techniques as negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration in community and national settings as well.

A substantial intellectual and practical base has been built for a field of "peace learning", whose creativity and practicality flows from the interaction of many disciplines, perspectives and persons with a common quest for just and lasting peace.

We can apply what we know about peacemaking to contemporary situations and envision the role a U.S. Academy of Peace could play -- the Iranian hostage situation, the Middle East conflict, the proposed mediation by Mexico in Central America, and the mediation of the United States in the Falkland Islands crisis, for example.

Establishment of the Academy would be a cost-effective, practical and constructive step -- a signal to the entire world that the most powerful nation accepts its role as peacemaker with great seriousness and vision.

I will not dwell on the need for, and the interest in, the United States Academy of Peace, for they are amply documented in the pages of the Commission's report -- and daily on the pages, screens, and speakers of our media. Millions of Americans from every station and state are struggling to find their appropriate roles in peacemaking. In dozens of city councils and hundreds of town meetings, citizens have voted for a nuclear weapons freeze. Physicians, lawyers and other professionals now have organizations to promote peace. Thousands of house parties are gathering signatures for a freeze where only months ago the topic may have been Tupperware. Every major religious body in the United States -- and many throughout the world -- have made peacemaking their highest priority for action during the opening years of the 1980s. The National Peace Academy Campaign has increased its membership tenfold from 3,000 to 30,000 in a little over a year. The New York Times reports (April 5, 1982) that student consciousness is growing around a unique triumvirate of issues -- nuclear weapons, Central America and jobs for college graduates. Further, I understand that we stand today at Ground Zero during the middle of Ground Zero Week -- yet another attempt of the American people to give concrete form to their deep yearning for peace and security.

This Subcommittee is acting in the finest tradition of American governmental responsiveness to the needs and expressed will of the public, exposing for the Congress and the people a practical and constructive step that we as a nation can take to promote peace. The U.S. Academy of Peace would not be a hasty "quick fix" reaction to the Congressional mail, but a carefully conceived institutional structure that would be a permanent and visible part of our national government, and also would provide helpful research and advice on current conflicts we face. The bi-partisan support for the Peace Academy testifies to its timeliness and strength in the Congress and with the people.

In the major part of my testimony I want to emphasize three very concrete and practical points:

1. What the U.S. Academy of Peace would be and do.
2. The nature of the field of peacemaking and conflict resolution.
3. The application of "peace learning" to some contemporary conflicts in the world.

WHAT WOULD THE U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE BE -- AND DO?

Only the briefest summary is required here, for the concept of the Academy is admirably developed in the final report and the legislation now before this Subcommittee. Excerpts from the report provide the basic outline of the proposed academy:

> The Commission sees the United States Academy of Peace as a visible symbol of the Nation's constant and historical purpose of promoting peace among nations. The Academy will help to reestablish the prominence of United States leadership in international peace through research, education and training, and information services. It will be a vigorous national institution that serves people in government, private enterprise, and

voluntary associations. It will be an important instrument for cooperative efforts in peace learning among our people and people from other nations.

The United States Academy of Peace proposed by the Commission will provide the nation with a balanced and cost-effective institution that will make the field of peace learning accessible and useful to scholars, analysts, policymakers, and decision-makers in international affairs, conflicts, and war.

Objectives of the Academy

The Commission recommends that the United States Academy of Peace have three major functions:

- To perform and assist research about international peace and peacemaking.
- To educate and train -- directly and indirectly -- persons across the Nation from government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations about international peace and peacemaking skills.
- To establish an information service in the field of peace learning.

Research will be undertaken at the Academy itself -- through faculty, students, staff, visiting scholars, and residents at its Center for International Peace -- and will be done at other institutions with Academy grant and contract support.

Education and Training programs at the Academy will be at the graduate and postgraduate levels, although the Academy may support undergraduate peace studies curricula in existing institutions... The Commission anticipates that the Academy will develop a variety of offerings, both short and long-term.

Information Services: The Commission foresees an active information services function within the Academy. Linking with the Nation's network of libraries, the Academy should develop bibliographies and abstracts which include foreign as well as American sources and unpublished documents of merit such as selected theses and dissertations... Properly designed, the information services will further the corporate memory of the field of peace learning so as to make its literature and knowledge easily retrievable and useful.

Location

The Commission felt...that to establish national and international visibility and remain sensitive to the Federal Government including the Congress, the Academy should locate its central facilities and administrative offices within easy reach of Washington, D.C... The Commission was urged to mandate creation of regional sites, perhaps affiliated with colleges and universities, for skill training, seminars and conferences, and research. The Academy's legislation contains authority to establish such subsidiary units.

Structure

The Commission recommends a 15-member Board to govern the Academy. Four members will come from Congress, two from each major political party from the Senate and the House of Representatives, thereby directly representing the interests of the citizenry through the Congress as well as the Congress as an institution. The President of the United States will nominate for Senate advice and consent the other eleven members, although the Academy is not an Executive Branch instituiton.

The Commission recommends funding for two purposes...a capitalization fund of $15,000,000 for...buildings and grounds..., [and] administrative and programming funds [of] $6,000,000 for the first year [and] $10,000,000 for the second year... The Academy is authorized to receive and expend nonfederal funds, which must be accounted for separately.

-- To Establish the United States Academy of Peace, USGPO, 1981

The Academy thus would give the nation a permanent institutional form and a public trust for the systematic pursuit of peace learning as a major national responsibility. Americans are experienced peacemakers, as the final report fully documents, as a result of our democratic, immigrant, interest group heritage. The Academy would build on this experience in its programs for private citizens as well as government officials.

The Academy would not be a policy-making or direct intervention body, just as the service academies do not themselves make military policy or fight wars. But this is not to say that the work of the Peace Academy would not have immediate and direct relevance for the peacemaking and peacekeeping activities of the U.S. government. For example, the Academy could:

-- maintain a computerized data bank of all existing treaties and the issues, conditions, time limits, historical background and negotiations patterns relating to the treaties and the nations involved;

-- provide a working group of specialists in, say, the negotiating behavior of the Soviets and other nations, or common characteristics of successful international mediators;

-- conduct seminars for the Congress and administration officials about current crises;

- -- create from its pool of faculty and researchers advisory groups on conflict situations such as the Iranian hostage crisis or the Falklands conflict, drawing on specialists in the particular geopolitical area or the interests at-issue, as well as experts in conflict resolution in the cultures involved;
- -- pursue highly specialized research in peacemaking and peacekeeping through ongoing relationships (including grants and contracts) with such existing institutions as the schools of international relations, the State Department's Foreign Service Institute, the International Peace Academy and the new U.N. University for Peace;
- -- draw together a critical mass of thinkers over a substantial period to pursue an understanding of the causes of sustained peace among nations, in contrast to the narrow crisis-response nature of much current fact-finding and research.

The key concept underlying each of these examples is the need for a sustained and systematic effort to identify the conditions of conflict and the options for successful conflict resolution for the United States and other nations in the world. Too often we find ourselves forced to respond to situations without having fully explored the causes for the conflict and the the options available to us. Every experienced mediator knows that a major aim of all constructive conflict resolution is to get the parties to project their behavior in terms of consciously selecting their actions from options available -- rather than automatically responding with force or violence to a perceived threat, thus cutting off a whole range of other possible responses.

It does not make sense for our leaders to have to literally "start over" each time a conflict arises; the causes, issues, poses, face-saving devices, processes and settlement packages -- and, therefore, the options available to the parties -- are similar from conflict to conflict. I am not suggesting that there is a pat answer for all conflicts, or even that all conflicts can be settled in a win/win fashion without a fight -- only that we should have adequate systematic data and advice to be able to consciously chose how we want to proceed in any given conflict, whether the United States is a first, second or third party.

In short, for a modest investment the capacity of the United States to respond to conflict in the world could be broadened and strengthened. We would enhance our ability to rationally chose the best course for peace and security. In the best Jeffersonian sense, we could begin to overcome the tremendous imbalance that has existed for years in the nation's capabilities for responding to situations of threat or conflict. We are heavily overbalanced toward meeting conflict with force -- in our war budgets, in our military academies and war colleges, in our strategic and weapons R and D. Creation of the kind of practical institution proposed in S. 1889 would restore the internal checks and balances within our government foreign relations apparatus which we believe are the foundation stones of sound decision-making in the public interest.

THE FIELD OF PEACEMAKING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Let me go right to the heart of the two criticisms I have heard leveled most often from my academic colleagues and others in the government and the peace organizations who are in some way working on international peace and security: "We are already doing it" and/or "Peacemaking is not a legitimate field of study." In my view, both criticisms are short-sighted and unnecessarily self-serving. Indeed, we stand at the threshhold of a major breakthrough in applying negotiation and mediation in a more systematic fashion to international conflict and violence.

1. The Commission's report documents the inadequate and unfocused investment of our nation's resources in the serious and persistent study of peacemaking techniques. Peace and conflict studies programs in our universities are chronically underfunded and marginal to the traditional disciplines. Very few courses and virtually no degree programs in the art and science of international negotiation and mediation exist in the schools of diplomacy and international relations inside as well as outside the federal government. As Harvard Professor Richard Pipes, now a foreign policy advisor in the White House, told the Commission in Boston in June 1980:

> We're not really training diplomats at Fletcher or Georgetown; we're training people in international relations.
>
> ...The art of negotiating in international relations is a great skill acquired partly through teaching [and] partly through experience. There are certain things you can be taught. For example, if you're going to sit down with the Russians, we know that certain things have to be prepared. With Russians, you have to be extremely specific. You have to work out a [detailed] agenda. You have to keep very good records. You have to spell out in greatest detail every term you're going to use. Nothing must be left to a simple sort of general understanding.
>
> This is just one of the many rules that have been established in dealing with the Russians that can be taught, and I believe properly trained diplomats can achieve a tremendous amount in defusing international tension.
>
> ...I believe we need far more attention to be paid to the teaching of negotiating techniques. (To Establish the United States Academy of Peace: 143, 45).

So, intensified and focused research on peacemaking can be highly practical and of great importance to our national interests. But it is clear that the necessary critical mass of scholars (and policy advisors who can translate their findings into everyday decision-making) is not present. Existing institutions should welcome the creation of a United States Academy of Peace to symbolize and actualize the nation's commitment to peace, to serve as a source of research funds and to be a mechanism for exchange of faculty members and students to strengthen our peace learning capabilities.

2. When faced with a proposal such as the one before this Subcommittee now, the Congress has a responsibility to ask whether a legitimate field exists around which a United States Academy of Peace could be built. The most thorough and comprehensive answer to this question is contained in chapter VI of the Commission's final report, "The Field of Peace Learning." Here the history of the peace research field is analyzed, and the three major fields of activity of peace learning (peace as the absence of war, peace as social justice and peacemaking techniques) are described. A 35-page bibliography of books, periodicals and compendia in the field of peace learning barely scratches the surface of the growing literature in the field. In other parts of the report, successful applications of conflict resolution to such international situations as hostage negotiation and the development of the Camp David Accords are detailed. Still elsewhere are presented the extensive experiences of Americans in resolving conflicts about labor relations, the environment, racial segregation, social services and conditions in prisons.

To me the implications are crystal clear: in the face of limited resources and no broad national commitment, nevertheless a field of peacemaking knowledge and techniques is growing, directly responsive to the interests and fears of the American people. The Congress faces a unique opportunity to nourish the field at this point in history.

I would argue that the "field" of peacemaking and conflict resolution (or peace learning) is not yet a "discipline" or a "profession", but is displaying a number of the characteristics of each: a sense of public need, a growing and cumulative literature, institutions and organizations, and some agreement on a common body of practice skills and ethics, for example.

A small taste of what the field is about is in order before turning to some contemporary applications. Following are some of the definitions and findings about conflict which guide my work and that of many others in the field, in highly condensed form.

a. Conflict is a natural and inevitable part of all human interaction. It is not the opposite of "order" or the same as "chaos", for it is highly patterned and predictable. Conflict occurs at all levels of society, from interpersonal to intranational and international. It is not deviant or pathological *per se*; it often is a healthy expression of injustices or strains in the social system which demand attention. Conflict may be defined as the escalated natural competition of two or more parties who believe they have incompatible goals, and whose aim is to neutralize, injure or gain advantage over the other party or parties. Struggles over power and scarce resources are at the heart of all social conflicts.

b. Violence is severely escalated conflict, where physical force or coercion is utilized (with or without formal authority) by one or more parties in a perceived win/lose fight. The weaker party or parties (i.e., those with less power and resources) generally lose such fights. Parties usually try to keep conflicts from escalating into fights, which severely strain the resource base of each party.

c. *Conflict intervention* is the process in which an outside or third party enters into a conflict to influence its outcome in a direction that he or she defines as desirable. Because intervention always alters the power configuration of a conflict, all intervenors are advocates -- either for a specific *party*, a particular *outcome* or policy, or for a preferred *process*. There are no neutrals. Five distinct conflict intervention roles may be labeled *activist*, *advocate*, *mediator*, *researcher* and *enforcer*. Finally, at least three conditions must be met if intervention is to be successful: finding a forum or setting acceptable to all the parties, establishing the legitimacy of the intervenor, achieving a willingness to negotiate on the part of all the parties.

d. A *positive outcome* is one in which all the parties at stake mutually determine the outcome through some form of negotiation (possibly with the aid of a third party), and a win/win settlement is achieved. Characteristics of such an outcome usually include more representative decision-making and a more equitable distribution of resources.

e. *Resolution is not the only orientation one may take toward conflict*; one's stance depends largely on such variables as who is in power and who wishes to maintain or gain what. Out-groups do not call for "conflict resolution" or "peace"; they want change and justice. Their more typical approach is to *agitate* conflict. In-parties are likely to *suppress*, *repress*, or *control* conflict. Intervenors aim to *resolve*, *manage*, or *regulate* conflict, and academics *study* or *teach* about conflict.

f. *Not all conflicts can be "resolved"*, and not all conflicts can be dealt with "nonviolently".

g. The traditional ways of dealing with conflict in modern high-technology states are through *force* (war, law enforcement, one-on-one combat), *political authority* (the operation of the political process in legitimate jurisdictions -- and between, as in formal diplomacy), and *litigation* (legitimated coercion by a third-party). Development or re-emergence of the "new" techniques of *negotiation*, *conciliation* and *mediation* is providing nonviolent and noncoercive alternatives to the traditional means in the United States, Europe, the Pacific Basin, and in other parts of the world.

h. A number of *skills* are identifiable as important for intervenors who wish to promote nonviolent resolution of conflicts. They include self-analysis, situational and community analysis, oral and written communication, organizing, negotiating, providing information, identifying resources, brokering, counseling, planning and training. While these skills may be taught, it may be that certain *personality characteristics* are even more important for the successful intervenor, among them flexibility, ability to delay closure and deny personal gratification, emotional distancing, contingency thinking ("if/thenning"), and the ability to avoid counter-dependence on the conflict or the parties.

While there may not be full agreement among professional peacemakers on this listing of definitions and findings, it is illustrative of the conceptual development of the field. This development continues, as a baseline of case data is accumulated from many types of conflicts, and theoretical frameworks are constructed to explain and predict conflict processes. Rather than attempting even a partial listing of appropriate sources in the field, I call your attention to the final report's bibliography and to additional less formalized sources contained in chapter VI on the field of peace learning. And the literature is growing rapidly, with increasing interest from a wide range of academics, public and private officials, and citizens. Examples of important works published just since the issuance of the Commission's report last fall are The Dynamics of Third Party Intervention: Kissinger in the Middle East, edited by Jeffrey Z. Rubin (Praeger, 1981) and Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In, by Roger Fisher and William Ury (Houghton Mifflin, 1981).

A parallel development to the growth of a scientific literature on peacemaking and the public's interest in the nuclear question is the growth of local peacemaking -- not peace-studying -- organizations. Hundreds of such groups have arisen in the United States in the last five years in the form of storefront or neighborhood mediation services and other groups providing more formalized alternatives to the litigative process or to interpersonal or community violence as means of resolving differences. The newsletter and files of the Grassroots Dispute Resolution Clearinghouse (operated as a project of the American Friends Service Committee in Pittsburgh) provide documentation for this phenomenon.

I must conclude this section by noting, then, that the critics of a U.S. Peace Academy who base their opposition on the opinion that there is no discernible "field" are at best uninformed about developments and applications in the last 20 years, and at worst lacking in vision about the needs and future of America and the world. Had we waited for a full-blown "field" or "discipline" of space transport to develop, Columbia would never have gotten off the ground, or perhaps even off the drawing boards. But the nation's leaders perceived a need and a challenge, and with great vision created the necessary structures, budgets and work places -- the necessary critical mass -- to advance our interests in space. And all of that in about 20 years! Surely we as a nation can allocate a small fraction of what has been spent on space to advance our interests (and therefore those of all the world) in peace and security.

APPLYING "PEACE LEARNING" TO SOME CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD

I invite you to consider with me, then, how this kind of thinking about conflicts can apply to some of the difficult situations we face in the world today. By implication, of course, we also are considering how a sustained and disciplined group of researchers at the U.S. Academy of Peace could assist in thinking through the strategies and options for American activity in such situations. After presenting some underlying principles and conditions for successful resolution of disputes, I offer brief comment on such recent peacemaking activities as Secretary Kissinger's Middle East "shuttle diplomacy", President Carter's role in the development of the Camp David Accords, the work of Lord Carrington in the peaceful transfer of power in Zimbabwe, and successful and unsuccessful approaches to the Iranian hostage crisis. Then conflict analysis is focused on the current U.S. peacemaking activities in Central América and the Falkland Islands.

Some Principles Underlying Successful Conflict Resolution or Peacemaking.

1. All the parties with an important stake in the outcome of the conflicts must have their interests represented in the decision-making forum.

2. "Successful" conflict resolution consists of a mutually-determined settlement of differences among the parties with stake, arrived at through good-faith negotiations and no violence, possibly with the aid of a third-party mediator or conciliator, and in which all the parties feel they made important gains.

3. All international conflicts (and most community and national disputes) are primarily about power and how to advance the perceived interests of the parties.

4. Parties in conflict act in ways that they believe will advance their perceived interests -- i.e., they respond to incentives as well as threats.

5. To achieve a mutually-determined, win/win outcome, all parties must be able to bring some negotiable power to the table.

6. Once conflict escalates, face-saving devices must be found if,parties are to back off hardened positions without violence and reach agreement.

7. If conflict escalates to violence, the weaker parties suffer most.

Some Necessary Conditions for Third-Party Settlement of Conflicts. Randolph has provided a succinct list of necessary and desirable conditions for third-party settlement of conflicts which provides a useful framework for thinking about mediation efforts underway or proposed in which the United States is involved. We list only the necessary conditions here.

1. Identifiable parties, a dispute, a mediator, and the will and capacity of the mediator to perform the necessary tasks.

2. Willingness of the parties to accept a mediator or other third-party, either because of the pressure of an external authority or because of their mutual perception that recourse to a third party will advance their interests.

3. Public belief that third-party assistance will achieve or preserve a favorable situation.

4. Confidence of the parties that the other parties will observe obligations.

5. Expectations of the parties about the extent of third-party authority in the situation (will settlement be voluntary, i.e., mediated, or compulsory, i.e., arbitrated?). Lillian Randolph, Third-Party Settlement of Disputes in Theory and Practice, Oceana, 1973, pp. 9-10).

Analysis of the Conflict. The first and perhaps most important act for the would-be mediator or intervenor is analysis of his or her base and of the conflict situation. I have developed a 20-page Case Study Outline for analysis of community conflict that yields more data on such situations than any but the most fanatic social scientist will ever need. We use the condensed version more often, and I now want to list some of the questions it contains which must be answered before any intervenor can determine the best role and activities. Among them are:

1. What is the geopolitical and historical setting of the conflict?
2. Who are the parties? The indirect parties with interests in the situation?
3. What are their most vital interests and their respective power?
4. What mechanisms already exist in the situation for peaceful resolution of the parties' differences?
5. Describe the relationship of the parties in the past, including interactions that led to the dispute.
6. What are the major issues?
7. In what stage is the conflict (latent, emerging, trading verbal blows at a distance, direct confrontation, post-battle, etc.)?
8. What is the base -- and therefore the potential and limitations -- of the proposed third party?
9. What information and resources will be needed to resolve the conflict?
10. What are the necessary elements of any settlement?
11. What are the goals for any intervention, and what role is most appropriate -- negotiator, fact-finder, mediator, conciliator or arbitrator?

As we proceed, I hope you will note the utility of this outline for disputes at all levels (international, national, community, interorganizational and interpersonal), even though it was developed specifically for community disputes. While no one would claim direct wholesale transferability of peacemaking techniques across system lines, it is important to note that there is a great deal to be learned from applying approaches learned in intranational settings to those on the international level. In fact, virtually every technique applied in international peacemaking first had to be learned and practiced in a smaller setting.*

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*In reviewing the testimony offered to the Commission at our 12 hearings, I have noted with both chagrin and wry satisfaction that the only persons who claim there is very little in common between peacemaking at the community and international levels are those who have been involved in only one of

Intervention in Recent Conflicts and Crisis. With these ideas in mind, let us look briefly at some recent and contemporary conflict situations, turning first to some brief comments on four recent examples of intervention in international conflicts.

1. Kissinger in the Middle East. Here is a teaser of comments from Rubin's excellent book on The Dynamics of Third Party Intervention: Kissinger in the Middle East. This section should be ample evidence of the plethora of peacemaking principles waiting to be discovered, analyzed, and applied under the auspices of the United States Academy of Peace. All comments are from Rubin's summary chapter, "Integration and Commentary."

> ...Kissinger's primary objective in the Middle East was the achievement of a series of small-scale, short-term agreements rather than the more general framework for an overall peace settlement; he may have been interested in moving toward a more general peace in the region, but his activity was focused almost exclusively on a set of bilateral disengagements. (274)
>
> ...Several contributors conclude that Kissinger was primarily interested in protecting or enhancing the power and reputation of the United States in the Middle East, particularly in relation to the perceived interests and objectives of the Soviet Union.... A third party's intervention must be understood in the context of that party's own particular interests in a conflict and its resolution. (274)
>
> ...Rather than sit back and wait for events to unfold before intervening, Kissinger preferred to help engineer these events in ways that, in his judgment, made a negotiated settlement more likely. (275)
>
> In order to maintain the tempo of the negotiations, the contributors agree, Kissinger found it necessary to continually press the disputants for concessions by utilizing a technique... aptly describe[d] as mediation-with-muscle. (276)
>
> Kissinger mediated effectively because he well understood the negotiations process.... He recognized and, in part, engineered a situation propitious for negotiation; encouraged and, in part, created a formula for settlement of the important issues; and used elements of power, deadline, trust, and momentum first to bring a process to fruition and then to leave it in a situation propitious for a new cycle of negotiations. (quote from I. William Zartman, 279)

(continued from p. 12) these settings -- the international. There is an implied elitism of scale. Advocates for the connections (and therefore for the vital research to be done in this area by a U.S. Academy of Peace) are those who have practiced at both levels, notably Ambassador Andrew Young, Professor Roger Fisher, Ambassador Diego Asencio and the Rev. John Adams. See To Establish the United States Academy of Peace.

This last quote summarizes a great deal of our present understanding of how good mediators work. They are not neutral, and do not claim to be. They are process advocates rather than party or outcome advocates *per se*. They work hard. They direct and guide, cajole and entrust, but only if they develop and maintain the trust relationship with the parties so they will be allowed to remain in the situation. This same process applies in community mediation, in which I have had considerable direct experience in practice as well as analysis.*

2. *The Camp David Accords*. The agreements reached here between Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat with the assistance of President Carter stand as a prime example of the application of techniques developed in intranational mediation to the international scene. And while opinions vary on whether Kissinger's Middle East mediation in 1974 had a lasting and positive effect, it is generally agreed that his "step-by-step diplomacy... helped pave the way for President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and the subsequent talks among Israel, Egypt, and the United States at Camp David in 1978" (Rubin, 278).

Fisher speaks in the Commission's report to the use of a technique which had its first testing in organizational decision-making and labor-management bargaining in the United States and other industrial states -- the single negotiating text. He describes some of the important characteristics of the one-text procedure:

> Properly used, it ignores the stated positions of the parties to focus on their underlying interests; it reduces the number of decisions required of each side; it allows the parties to generate a plan before having to decide whether to accept it; and it tends to restructure a conflict so that the parties, rather than confronting each other face to face, are working side by side, facing the shared problem of improving the draft...
>
> The one-text procedure was used by President Carter at Camp David.... The process of successive non-binding drafts of a discussion text to which no one was committed continued until the thirteenth day. There had been some 23 drafts of all or part of the negotiating text which the United States was preparing in light of the criticisms and suggestions of Egypt and Israel. Finally, the United States had decided this was the best it could do under the circumstances (92-93).

Israel and Egypt accepted this draft, and thus the Camp David Accords have provided the framework for ongoing negotiations for peace in the Middle East. The Accords essentially are the 23rd working draft resulting from the efforts of the parties to solve a problem by jointly refining a draft. This technique deserves extensive study and testing -- by the United States Academy of Peace, in my view.

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*See *Mediation and New Federalism* (Kettering Foundation, *et al.*, 1981) and two special issues of the *Journal of Intergroup Relations* on "Intervening in Community Conflicts" (9, 2 -- Summer 1981, and 10, 1 -- Spring 1982) which I edited.

3. Zimbabwe. Great Britain's Lord Carrington used a version of the single-text procedure when he helped bring the Rhodesian-Zimbabwe conflict to a successful and nonviolent confusion (Fisher, p. 92 of the Commission's report). The Commission's report also contains the following telling commentary by Richard Pipes:

> We have only to look on how the British solved the problem in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe. It was a brilliant example of diplomatic skills at the highest level. Here was a situation that to all appearances looked hopeless, and I must say that I expected general carnage to ensue. Yet because of the superb skill of these people, they managed to defuse it and to achieve an all-around peaceful resolution. Now, this is the skill of negotiators. I doubt if we could have done it, not because we lack the good will, but because we lack the skill (63).

The Commission comments in the Jeffersonian tradition of internal balancing:

> If the United States lacked the mediation and conciliation skills exhibited by the British in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe but were asked to assume such a responsibility, any failures ultimately would lie with policymakers who had caused an imbalance within the range of peacemaking options (63).

4. Iran. In-depth analyses of the Iranian hostage crisis are just now beginning to emerge, and I have not conducted a formal study of that situation. But some comments flowing from observations made within the conflict intervention framework may be helpful.

a. The United States was hampered in pursuing its goals by the canons of formal diplomacy and its inability to utilize effective non-official or informal channels to the Iranians. Because we could not confer formal diplomatic recognition on either the Revolutionary Council or the students holding the hostages, communication was difficult. The informal channels we apparently developed leaned too heavily on westernized leaders -- Bani-Sadr and Ghotbzadeh -- when on-the-scene analysts including American news media personnel knew that any proto-bargaining with a good probability for success would have to involve lines to the orthodox mullahs.

b. U.N. Secretary Waldheim's mission failed, at least partially, because it was couched too rigidly within the style of formal diplomacy, the rigidities of special commissions, and the unwitting exclusion of communication with one of the most important parties -- the students holding the hostages. I learned in conducting some informal explorations during that stage of the hostage crisis that the Secretary-General had no on-the-scenes staff developing liaison with the students and others in Tehran during the critical weeks leading up to the visit of the special commission. It had been clear for some time that there would have to be some face-saving device for the students. It was incredible that the mission was surprised when it faltered on the students' unwillingness to give access to the one basis of their power in the conflict -- the hostages. Even the most perfunctory analysis of the situation by experienced community or international mediators -- not formal diplomats -- would have yielded this important piece of information to the Waldheim mission.

Fisher's comment on some of the important tasks of a U.S. Academy of Peace speaks directly to this situation: the design of effective mediation procedures, standard cease-fire agreements, and check-lists for mediators (95).

Contemporary Conflicts and Crises: Central America and the Falklands. I now want to turn to brief comments on the situation in Central America as it appears to a conflict analyst, before devoting more time to the Falklands controversy.

1. Central America. Drawing on the principles and analytical categories outlined earlier in this section, we see the potential for a negotiated settlement emerging in a number of the specific situations in which the United States has interests in Central America and the Caribbean -- notably Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba. We may take the following observations as a starting point for constructive discussion about peacemaking approaches in this area.

a. The "indirect" parties in Central America (the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.) have more ultimate power in the situation than the direct parties (the Central American countries themselves).

b. Accordingly, all the Central American countries see one of their problems as maintaining some degree of autonomy from the influence and power of the indirect parties -- or at least how to balance the intervention of the indirect parties in their own interests.

c. The impetus for current negotiations involving the United States is the offer made by Mexico in March to serve as a mediator. As recently as last week, the United States and Nicaragua had moved quite close to agreeing on an agenda of issues and possible steps for negotiation. Some of the typical elements of a package now are being proposed: joint statements of non-interference, restrictions on military deployments in the area, a verification or monitoring process, cultural exchanges, etc.

d. The most significant single fact about the Central American situation for conflict analysts is the Mexican mediation offer and the possibility that the United States will be willing to negotiate under the auspices of a third-party -- Mexico. If Mexican mediation or even convening takes place, a major step will have been taken in the willingness of the United States to act as a first or second party in a third-party settlement situation, rather than its historically preferred third-party "mediation-with-muscle"* role. This would signal a major maturation of the dispute resolution processes in the international system, with the United States' willingness to conceive of its interests being served when it is playing world peacemaking roles other than policeman or arbitrator-in-mediator's clothing.

2. The Falklands. The British fleet was steaming southward as this testimony was written on April 17th, so my words may be moot by the time of the hearings on April 21st. I may ask your indulgence during the hearings to amend this part of the text based on additional information. In the

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*A term coined by Donald Straus, former President of the American Arbitration Association, in his contribution to the Rubin book on Kissinger's intervention in the Middle East.

peacemaking field we have learned that flexibility and openness to what the process and the parties will bring to you is the first requirement for effective mediation. But let me nonetheless proceed with some comments on the situation.

a. The Reagan Administration has taken a highly significant step -- and risk -- in dispatching Secretary Haig to London and Buenos Aires to attempt to mediate the dispute and avoid violent confrontation.

b. The Falklands crisis provides a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate the efficacy of the United States' use of mediation and conciliation in devising a comprehensive or negotiated settlement in a major sovereignty conflict. This contrasts with the step-by-step, series-of-disengagements approach used by Kissinger in 1974 or the "partitioning of conflict" approach (i.e., dealing with only a limited number of parties and issues) taken by President Carter at Camp David in 1978.

c. There is strong public support in the United States for a mediated settlement of the Falklands crisis involving the U.S. With nothing approximating a systematic survey, I have found support for the effort (and in some cases for the obvious need for some ongoing back-up capability) in such disparate sources as the St. Louis Globe-Democrat (April 8), the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (April 8), the St. Paul Dispatch (April 12) and the Christian Science Monitor (April 15). This sampling is a small indication of the country's mood, and I am sure that by now we have poll data affirming this impression.

d. Without knowledge on my part of the back-up and technical assistance capabilities available to Secretary Haig, I would judge that he has done an excellent job so far within the limitations of the situation. But problems have developed in holding the parties to commitments made, perhaps due as the Monitor also editorially observes (April 15), to the 18-hour gap between the mediator's meetings with the two parties. After praising Secretary Haig's efforts, the Monitor perceptively suggests:

> [Shuttle diplomacy], popularized by Henry Kissinger, proved successful in the Middle East where adversaries were living check by jowl. But experienced negotiators point to the pitfalls of getting agreement from the Argentines, say, and then letting the matter rest for 18 hours while the intermediary is travelling and the Argentines have time to rethink, reassess -- and change their mind.
>
> Negotiation, in other words, demands communicating quickly and giving the parties no letup.
>
> It just might be wise for President Reagan to designate someone else for the mediation effort: perhaps even a whole diplomatic team that could be stationed in both nations' capitals and keep the lines of communication constantly open. Or, such a negotiation effort could take place in a third, a neutral Latin American country, with British and Argentine representatives present. In any case, a specially assigned mediator could give single-minded attention to the problem and stay with it until the issue was resolved. Mr. Haig, meantime, would be freed to give attention to other troubled spots, not the least of all the Middle East...

e. In my view, moving the negotiations to a mutually-agreeable neutral site would be the best course. Secretary Haig should continue to be the leader of the U.S. mediation effort, with extensive on-site technical assistance and a clearly designated high-level alter-ego who can be dispatched with important messages and proposals to the parties or indirect parties, or conduct the negotiations themselves when appropriate. Such a step in the process could provide a rationale for certain pull-backs in the military positions of the British and the Argentines. Meeting in the same location (even if the mediator still shuttles messages between the principals), also would provide the opportunity for the informal contacts between middle-level staff on both sides that often produce new packages or new twists on old packages which become the basis for formal negotiations and settlement in such situations.

f. Has the Secretary's staff conducted the type of case study analysis outlined earlier in this testimony?

-- Are the interests of all the indirect parties clearly in mind? (Note that the Soviets are the biggest export customer for Argentine products -- as were the Germans for Iranian oil. What are the implications?)

-- What are the most critical underlying interests, and how can they be separated for negotiation from the statements of threats and positions made by the parties?

-- What mechanisms for saving face exist or could be developed?

-- What are the essential or core elements of a settlement package for the two major parties? What is negotiable and what is not?

-- What of the use of other potential peacemakers? The United Nations is sponsoring discussions, and may have an important role to play.

Such data should be readily available to the mediator's staff as he considers next steps, offers, timing, relations of the parties with their back-home constituencies, etc.

g. If a negotiated settlement is to emerge, I believe that at least the following elements will have to be a part of it:

-- An agreement on sovereignty -- perhaps the type of lease-back arrangement already proposed by the British for the Falklands and currently in effect in Hong Kong.

-- An agreement on the distribution and duration of mineral rights. Great Britian cannot go away without some continuing claim on oil in the area, however small.

-- An arrangement for the future of the 1,800 Falkland residents which they perceive as fair and equitable, including some form of reparations for those whose lives and property are severely affected.

- -- Face-saving mechanisms for both sides on at least three levels -- for their own back-home constituencies, their allies, and world opinion.
- — A time-table for implementing whatever changes are negotiated.
- -- A mechanism for monitoring the settlement -- perhaps designed by the International Peace Academy in New York (which has considerable experience in this area).

The issue is joined, the parties are in confrontation, the United States has chosen a peacemaking role, and high U.S. officials are devoting enormous amounts of time and energy. But what is missing is a structure for the sustained commitment to peace learning and the established technical back-up that could immensely aid our good-faith efforts in situations such as the Falklands crisis. In the words of the St. Paul Dispatch's editorial headline of last week, "World Class Mediators Sought." Clearly the U.S. Academy of Peace could provide the continuity and technical assistance to help sustain such peacemaking efforts and make them truly world class.

A CONCLUDING NOTE

As I noted earlier in my testimony, this Subcommittee already has played a significant historical role in advancing the United States' capability as a peacemaker. Now we stand at another critical point in the advancement of peace. It could not be more timely for this Subcommittee to be considering the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace.

In many ways President Reagan is one of the most important leaders of the peace movement today. On the one hand, he has been a catalyst to (if not a direct cause of) the revitalization and broadening of the base of peace movements in the United States and Europe through his proposed Defense budgets, the tough talk to the Soviets emanating from the White House (and State and Defense), and his statements on nuclear deployment and warfare in Europe. On the other, his speeches always have stressed negotiation in tandem with military strength, he said on October 1, 1981, that he could not imagine a situation "in which a nuclear war would be winnable," and now his administration is actively advocating negotiation and/or mediation in two major world trouble-spots.

In any case, the support of the American public for constructive and practical steps toward peace is at an all-time high. It will be no surprise to you that I believe the proposal for the establishment of the United States Academy of Peace is a timely, practical and rational response that will greatly advance the public interest. I hope you also agree with me that peace is a process and an objective that can be systematically pursued, and that appropriate federal initiative at this point can yield great future dividends in knowledge and action.

Your action on this legislation could be part of what one writer has called an important "paradigm shift" taking place in the United States and the world -- a shift in the very categories through which we interpret the world, especially in how we view cooperative compared to adversarial forms of behavior. As you and your colleagues deliberate on this opportunity thrust on you by history and your leadership, I urge you to keep ever in mind the concept of peace which motivated the Commission's work:

> The Commission rejects emphatically any insinuation that peace -- any more than love, church, justice, family, or flag -- is soft and naive. The Commission believes timorous attitudes toward peace do not advance the national interest or reflect the American character. Peace is neither utopian nor a sign of weakness or cowardice. Peace is not to be measured simply by absence of tension or quietude of complaint. Peace is not only a desired state; it is a process that is vigorous and includes devotion to those life-affirming values that have made "American" a cherished concept. Peace requires knowledge, judgment, and skill no less complex than what is required for war.
>
> (To Establish the United States Academy of Peace, p. 21)

The 97th could go down in history as the Peace Congress. Please help make that happen.

Thank you very much.

Senator **RANDOLPH**. Thank you very much.

Do you wish to make a comment?

Senator **MATSUNAGA**. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank Dr. Laue for coming before this subcommittee to testify. His service as Vice Chairman of the Commission was invaluable, and he made immeasurable contributions toward the success of the work of the Commission, and I take this opportunity for the record to thank him.

Dr. **LAUE**. Thank you very much, Senator. It was my pleasure to work with you.

Senator **RANDOLPH**. Thank you, Dr. Laue.

We recall when you were in West Virginia, I remember very well you were attempting in Kanawha County, where our capitol city is located, and the seat of our State government, to settle a textbook censorship controversy. As I remember it, you were one of those who really helped to finally bring about the resolution of that problem, am I right about that?

Dr. **LAUE**. Well, you are right, Senator. But, as mediators, we have to be willing to let the major parties take the credit.

I would say that one of your longtime residents, Bishop Frederick Wertz of the United Methodist Church, did one of the best mediation efforts in that dispute. He had no formal relationship to any of the parties, but he served as an effective mediator, brought 18 different people in that dispute in 1974 together, ranging from the professional educators to citizens who lived up the hollars—as I believe you pronounce them in West Virginia. He brought all the parties with a stake together in several private sessions, got a four- or five-point agreement, and then was able, because of the patience and skill with which he operated, to help solve that situation. I think that he and that whole county are to be commended for the way they got out of a very difficult situation by the use of mediation skills.

My role was simply to advise the bishop at one point on what next steps that he might take and to help analyze that complex situation.

I appreciate your mentioning it because I think it was a significant example of good mediation work on the part of the bishop.

Senator **Randolph**. We had in that situation a county divided, really.

Dr. **Laue**. Very much divided.

Senator **Randolph**. Yes; with violence.

Dr. **Laue**. There was violence, there was bombing of a school, there was shooting at school buses. There were people on all sides of the dispute who did not send their children to school because they were afraid of potential violence.

Senator **Randolph**. Well, for your efforts, for your understanding, I mention this only to qualify you as one who has been at this a long time.

Dr. **Laue**. Thank you. It is a labor of love.

Senator **Matsunaga**. I take it that country roads was next to Heaven——

Senator **Randolph**. That song was never written for West Virginia. It was written for Maryland. I will give you a dissertation on that song. I would sing the West Virginia Hills, which is our song, not Country Roads.

Senator **Matsunaga**. After the hearing.

Senator **Randolph**. After the hearing.

Dr. Kennedy.

Mr. **Kennedy**. I consider it a privilege to testify before this subcommittee in support of the establishment of a National Peace Academy.

As the committee is aware, I retired last summer from the U.S. Foreign Service after 21 years, my last post abroad having been our Embassy in Tehran. My 14 months as a hostage gave me time to reflect on the underlying causes of our captivity, indeed of problems that have followed us since. Because it seems to me that our Government, which has tended to lump foreign happenings in traditional categories--political, economic and military—had obviously not paid sufficient attention to the influence of religion and related psychological factors in international affairs.

So, upon my release, I decided to spend the rest of my professional life expanding such understandings. In September 1981, I founded the Cathedral Peace Institute under the aegis of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City.

We quickly learned that our perceptions of the religions and psychological factors that motivate foreigners help to explain American motivations equally well. The interaction of religion and violence, for example, was apparent in Iran. But how many of us pondered the paradox of the many Americans who entered their places of worship to pray for the safe return of the hostages, and then argued that we should "nuke Iran."

How difficult, too, it was for Americans to accept that we cannot, these days, always win, in the sense of a clear-cut victory at someone else's expense. Was Iran necessarily a national humiliation? It certainly was not for the hostages, who once again showed, I can say with pardonable pride, that Americans can take it. But, more than that, it showed that we can keep our cool, that we can play our negotiating cards purposefully and successfully, giving away what we do not really need in order to obtain what we really want. We practiced conflict resolution, and won, and that is what the National Peace Academy is all about. And it is a primary concern of the Cathedral Peace Institute, as will.

In parallel, each in their separate spheres, my institute and the academy will be working in an area which is difficult but not impossible, and that is attitudinal change, sometimes called paradigm shift. We Americans are conditioned from childhood to think in terms of total victory. For example, little Johnny comes back from his little league game. What is the first question his father asks? Not, "Did you play well?" Not, "Did you enjoy the game?" It is, "Did you win?" And so we learn in school about "Unconditional Surrender Grant," and so forth.

What is curious about all this is that we learn early on, in our personal relations, if we want to stay married or keep any friends, that there are no victories. Major management consultant firms give courses in negotiating skills, impressing on their clients that a business deal is not a zero sum game, where everything you win someone else has to lose. Rather the game is win-win. But when it comes to foreign affairs, Americans tend to forget the lessons of maturity and commonsense. Our leadership, responding to what they think our people expect, too often feel that they have to "hang tough" on every occasion, to promote confrontation rather than purposeful negotiation.

We need a general attitudinal change, nor is this impossible. How greatly our attitudes have changed in the last two decades on the role of women, and on the matter of racial equality. We can infuse a greater understanding that bluster does not mean strength, that a readiness purposefully to negotiate does not mean weakness, that expectations in international as in domestic affairs must be realistic ones. Because if we do not, there will no longer be a world that we have expectations of any kind.

Such attitudinal change is an appropriate and necessary task for our churches and other religious organizations. It responds to their fundamental view of mankind and the human condition. Since none of us are perfect, none of us are absolutely in the right all the time. We can then sit down to sort out what each wants the most, what each needs the least. It responds to a clear mandate in scripture. Peacemakers are indeed called the children of God. Conflict resolution should be at the basis of a new long-range program for the churches and other effective religious organizations because it draws on the experience they already have developed in pastoral counseling and community relations. Already, a peace institute is in formation in Columbus, Ohio, which, beginning with conflict resolution on the family level, will expand those understandings to the international.

Religious organizations cannot do this alone. The task is immense and urgent. The Cathedral Peace Institute, which we hope will be at the heart of this new direction, will look to the National Peace Academy especially to provide research and information in the field of peace learning. We see the two entirely separate but traveling parallel paths toward the same objective, a world in which nations and individuals can fulfill themselves because they respect each other, because they retain the strength and resolve to command that respect, but also the intelligence, integrity, knowledge, and experience to resolve conflicts in ways that do not put at risk the future of all humankind.

Thank you very much.

[The following information was received for the record:]

REFLECTIONS

Volume IV March, 1982 Number 4

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

by Moorhead Kennedy, Executive Director
Cathedral Peace Institute

We begin with the proposition that there is no more immediate or terrible threat to the future of our planet than a nuclear holocaust. Can we not extend our thinking further? Are there no **other** threats to planetary survival? Even if the production of nuclear weapons were to be frozen, and the arsenals of superpowers reduced to zero, these powers have available agents of chemical warfare, acting on the human respiratory or nervous system or our environment, whose destructive capacities are formidable.

Moreover, the "nuclear club" today includes or will include Third World members resentful of richer nations, whose problems, whether the hostility of neighbors or population pressures, or an inadequate food supply, or lack of development capital, could as easily give rise to nuclear conflict. And even if we avoid war, nuclear or conventional, the undisciplined manner in which we undermine our life support systems gives promise of a more lingering death for generations yet to come.

Many argue without denying the seriousness of these other threats, that nuclear destruction is the more pressing, and certainly the most dramatic. By arousing concern first in this area, a generalized higher level of concern would then ultimately turn to these other problems.

I do not agree. Too exclusive a focus on nuclear disarmament can give rise to the delusion that solving this one problem will get us out of danger on any long-term basis. The fundamental threat to us all lies in ourselves, our propensity to conflict, to violence, self-righteousness and self-delusion, to ego-tripping, to the avoidance of responsibility; in short to all the flaws in our human nature that are conducive to war. Too exclusive a preoccupation with weaponry leaves less time for self-examination, for increasing our awareness of the world problems that give rise to its use, for pondering means for their resolution, and for developing a faith which might enable us to formulate fresh goals for our troubled planet.

I would prefer to see our church spend more time teaching what is central to its mission and within its area of expertise. Specifically, the old art and newly developed science of conflict resolution, as applicable to family as to international conflict, may help to develop a generation of Americans less demanding of "victory" or of macho confrontation from their leadership, more equipped to lead the world in that spirit of accommodation which is the surest road to peace.

Cathedral Peace Institute

A World Center for Study of

Religion and International Affairs

The Cathedral Peace Institute (CPI) was established in September 1981 by the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. It offers to men and women anxious to make a contribution to world peace an alternative approach which looks beyond the currently important disarmament issue. Even if, CPI argues, nuclear weapons were eliminated altogether, mankind would still remain prone to conflict, within and between persons, among groups and among nations. The more basic threat to peace, arises, therefore, not from weapons, but from the flawed nature of man.

CPI's goal is to widen popular understanding of the religious and psychological forces that generates violence and war, and to develop ways of controlling these drives and of directing them toward fresh goals which religion can help to identify. CPI hopes that religious organizations will be drawn to this approach to peace advocacy, since it is central to their traditional mission and competence. CPI thus hopes to deepen the intellectual and spiritual content of peace advocacy, to increase its effectiveness and thus to broaden its constituency.

CPI's basic tool will be symposia in which non-attribution will permit frank discussion. The climax of each will be a larger session at which conclusions will be presented to an invited audience, and published in a broad spectrum of the media.

The first symposium will pose the question "Violence: Is Religion Its Cause or Its Cure?" Its inquiry will include troubled areas such as the Middle East, Northern Ireland and the United States, asking what role religion has played in various forms of violence, what are the other factors involved, and how they interrelate. The second will be concerned with the effects of violence and war upon children. The third, concerned with man's psychological ability (or inability) to prevent world conflict, will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of correspondence, commissioned in 1932 by the League of Nations, between Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud. As successor to the League, the United Nations has agreed to provide facilities for this symposium, which will pose the questions, "Looking back on Einstein's questions and Freud's pessimistic response, do the events that followed this correspondence tend to confirm or rebut its conclusion? What corrective measures, if any, can we take?"

To practitioners of international relations in government and business, CPI will provide insights into current developments not found in conventional political, economic or strategic analysis. These will be related to domestic problems, in particular the alienation, malaise, disintegration of stabilizing social structures, and irrational violence arising out of the era of the Viet Nam war.

The idea for CPI came to its founding director, Moorhead Kennedy, while he was held hostage in Iran by an Islamic Revolution not adequately foreseen by foreign affairs professionals. Upon his return, he encountered behavioral scientists as well as far-sighted

Foreign Service Officers who were also concerned that the importance of religious and psychological forces was not being recognized. CPI is the result of that convergence.

CPI will be collaborating with the Institute of Human Behavior and World Affairs (IHBWA), headed by Alfred M. Freedman, M.D., past President of the American Psychiatric Association, and Chairman of the meeting of the World Psychiatric Association held in November 1981 at the United Nations.

At this time, the CPI staff consists of its Executive Director, Mr. Kennedy, and the Administrative Assistant, Marie Moser. As funding permits, a Director of Studies and a secretary will be added. The Hon. Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of State who is Honorary Co-Chairman of the Cathedral's Capital Campaign, has agreed to serve on the advisory board of CPI, now in formation.

The Cathedral presently provides CPI with office space, administrative support and operational funding, with the understanding that CPI will gain its financial autonomy as soon as possible. Funding CPI's endowment is therefore one of the principal goals of the Cathedral's thirty-five million dollar Capital Campaign.

Senator Randolph. Thank you.

This is a statement which I tried to listen to each word. I will read it again. You have been there, is that not right, in a sense?

Mr. Kennedy. Yes; I was there.

Senator Randolph. I want to make an announcement now for the interested parties. You pass the word along if you desire. We are grateful for the attendance, very grateful. This afternoon we will be in room 410, not of this building but the Russell Building. It will be in the Veterans' Affairs Committee. It is a room approximately the size of this room. The other rooms that were available were too small. We have been able, hopefully, to accommodate our guests and believers who are here today by obtaining a larger room in which to reconvene this afternoon.

Now, the time for coming back may be somewhat determined by who can preside.

Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator Randolph. We will announce now that the hearing will continue at 2 o'clock.

Do you have questions now?

Senator Matsunaga. We will take the next panel before recessing for lunch, and I would be willing to——

Senator Randolph. I will ask you if you will preside then.

Well, thank you very much again.

Senator Matsunaga. I want to congratulate Ambassador Kennedy for his statement and we certainly welcome your support.

Senator Randolph. Thank you very much, Senator Matsunaga. And we will make sure that the cloture votes and others must honor.

Senator Matsunaga. We are very glad that you are in this committee. You are in harness. We are grateful. Thank you.

Thank you very much, Senator Randolph. It is not often that a Senator joins the committee and, on the first day, finds himself chairman of a subcommittee.

Before we hear from the next panel, I wish to announce that the hearing record will be kept open until May 1 for any statements to be submitted for inclusion in the record. There may be questions submitted to the witnesses in writing in which we would request all witnesses to respond in writing for the record by May 1.

And Senator Stafford, who is the real, the genuine chairman of this subcommittee, asked me to express his deep apologies Dr. Conrad, for his inability to be here during your testimony.

So we will now hear from panel No. 1, 5-minute summary from each, beginning with Dr. David Conrad.

STATEMENTS OF DR. DAVID CONRAD, CODIRECTOR, CENTER FOR WORLD EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON, VT.; DR. JERRY ELMER, DIRECTOR, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, PROVIDENCE, R.I.; DR. JOSEPH FAHEY, DIRECTOR, PEACE STUDIES INSTITUTE, MANHATTAN COLLEGE, BRONX, N.Y.; DR. KENNETH BROWN, DIRECTOR, PEACE STUDIES PROGRAM, MANCHESTER COLLEGE, NORTH MANCHESTER, IND.; DR. KARL MATTSON, GETTYSBURG COLLEGE, GETTYSBURG, PA.; AND DR. BRYANT WEDGE, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, A PANEL

Dr. CONRAD. Thank you.

I am honored to have this opportunity to comment upon the proposed U.S. Academy of Peace. I am tremendously impressed by the report of the Commission and its recommendations. The U.S. Peace Academy will make an outstanding contribution to the cause of world peace and all Americans should be proud that at last such a sensible idea is close to reality.

I am especially interested in the Peace Academy as a teacher educator and community educator who focuses on what the Commission appropriately calls peace learning. As codirector of the Center for World Education at the University of Vermont, I teach courses in global awareness and peace education. Our center features a curriculum resource library containing instructional units, filmstrips, and background information on global issues, including peace and conflict resolution. Materials are loaned to any educator in Vermont who requests them. Teacher education workshops are offered on the university campus as well as in schools, though we have not been able to offer workshops in different parts of the State in recent years because our resources are so limited.

As a member of the steering committee of the American Friends Service Committee in Vermont, I have also been involved in community education centering on the bilateral nuclear weapons freeze issue which recently was debated and passed as a resolution in 161 Vermont town meetings. For several years, the Vermont AFSC has been helping citizens of our State deal with the threat of nuclear weapons. Films, presentations, vigils, a petition drive and, last summer, a very successful peace walk from Washington [Vermont] to Moscow [Vermont] have helped educate people about nuclear disarmament. Vermont's AFSC's field secretary, David McCauley, has spoken in dozens of schools, churches, and townhalls throughout the State. Interest in peace and a mutual nuclear weapons freeze is very great in Vermont. The level of concern has grown rapidly from 18 towns supporting a freeze last year to 161 towns this year. Recently, a group of Buddhist monks on the World Peace

March in support of the Second Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations passed through the State and were welcomed by churches for supper and an educational program almost every evening. From tiny towns to larger cities, they were greeted by hundreds of peace-loving Vermonters.

But I believe Vermonters and other Americans want more than a heightened awareness of peace and disarmament issues. Many people want to study, examine, and actively pursue peace as the most important issue facing the world today. They agree with the Commission that peace learning is the responsibility of every citizen. And they agree that peace learning includes skill training, early education, and self-education. It is my understanding that the Peace Academy will support a variety of problemsolving methods on all levels, from elementary education to adult education. Each branch of peace learning—peace as the absence of war, peace as social justice, and peacemaking techniques—will be explored, but application of these ideas in elementary, secondary, and community education is critical. Support by the Peace Academy of efforts like ours in the Center for World Education would enable us to expand peace learning to hundreds of teachers around the State through workshops, conferences, and seminars. We could help teachers look at history as more than a sequence of wars, and help them explore alternatives to violence. Support by the Peace Academy for community education would assist young and old to be peacecaring and peaceseeking so that peace becomes everyone's business, as the Commission aptly puts it. I am encouraged by the Commission's conclusion that: The U.S. Academy of Peace will advance the national interest by developing peacemaking expertise that can reduce the chance that this Nation or any other nation will, for compelling security reasons, breach peace and risk nuclear war by escalating conflicts into violence.

Since I am employed by an institution of higher education, I would like to comment on the need for colleges and universities to strengthen their involvement in peace education and research. I believe the Peace Academy would further this goal in a number of ways. The Academy could act as a stimulus and catalyst for peace learning on undergraduate and graduate levels. Outstanding students exploring peace issues in an undergraduate college could later pursue peace studies on the graduate level at the Academy. University faculty wanting to improve their skills in conflict resolution or engage themselves in peace research could spend a sabbatical at the Peace Academy. The Academy, in turn, might provide seed money to develop a new course or start an innovative program in the field of peace learning at a college or university. The dynamic interaction between institutions of higher education and the Academy of Peace is fascinating to imagine. Both parties could gain a great deal from this relationship. Students and faculty would be enriched and the country served well through development of citizen-scholars knowledgeable about and committed to peace learning in its many forms.

The proposed creation of regional sites, perhaps affiliated with colleges and universities for skill training, seminars and research is of great interest in Vermont because of the demonstrated concern for peace in our State. Recognition of the value of voluntary organizations is of considerable interest, too. The Commission views voluntary associations in the United States today as "* * * bedrock institutions in this democracy and as important as Government and private enterprise to the peacemaking role of this Nation."

Though I cannot speak for the American Friends Service Committee, I think it is commendable that voluntary groups like the AFSC are seen as active partners with the Peace Academy in work for peace. Voluntary organizations seldom have adequate time to reflect upon or do research on issues they are actively pursuing. The Peace Academy could provide opportunities for reflection and analysis, as well as assist voluntary organizations in research efforts. Organizations, on the other hand, could provide internship opportunities for Peace Academy students who would benefit from the experience of working with voluntary groups on local, national, and international levels.

In conclusion, I view establishment of the U.S. Academy of Peace as a very encouraging development, an optimistic statement about the future at a time when peace seems more elusive than ever. It is gratifying to know that the United States is finally giving formal recognition to peace as a priority concern. At last, we are responding positively to a concern expressed so well by Gen. Omar N. Bradley in his 1948 Armistice Day address: "* * * The world has achieved brilliance without wisdom, power without conscience. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace; more about killing than we know about living."

I believe the time has come to admit, as the Commission suggests, that peace is a fundamental right of all human beings. Independent, cautious, and thoughtful Vermonters asserted this right recently by streaming to town meetings all over the State and voting overwhelmingly for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. Vermonters know the value of peace and know that national security must be redefined in a world overflowing with lethal nuclear weapons. The wisdom of these Vermonters and millions of other Americans will be confirmed and enhanced by establishment of a peace academy dedicated to peace learning by and for every citizen of this country.

Thank you.

Senator **MATSUNAGA**. Thank you very much, Dr. Conrad.

And now to speak for the American Friends Service Committee, a director from Providence, R.I., Dr. Jerry Elmer.

Dr. **ELMER**. Thank you very much.

My name is Jerry Elmer. I should like to thank the members of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities for this opportunity to testify on pending legislation to establish a U.S. Academy of Peace. I should especially like to thank Rhode Island's senior Senator, Claiborne Pell, for his leadership on this issue and his assistance in making my testimony possible.

For the past 10 years, I have served as a field secretary in the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee, AFSC. In that capacity, I have had the opportunity to witness several areas in which the proposed Peace Academy could make valuable contributions. One area where you miqht see this is in the relationship between human rights and international peace. I had the opportunity to study that relationship firsthand in 1977, when I visited nine South and Southeast Asian nations on behalf of the AFSC to investigate the status of human rights and examine the impact of western aid programs. That relationship between human rights and international peace was recognized the same year when Amnesty International was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and Congress recognized their connection in asking for status reports from the State Department on nations receiving military assistance. Yet, those annual State Department reports are often sadly biased because of perceived security needs. A truly independent agency would be in a better position to assess human riqhts and undertake scholarly publication on how human rights relate to international peace, as I am firmly convinced that it does.

Another important area where the Peace Academy could play a useful role is in facilitating informal, off-the-record discussion between nations which might be adversaries or potential adversaries. The United Nations often plays this role as do other governments or non-governmental organizations. As we know, solutions to international problems are sometimes easier to work out through quiet diplomacy rather than public negotiations. A Peace Academy with its staff knowledgeable on reconciliation might be able to play the role of "unofficial" Americans and succeed in bridging gaps between this country and other nations. One could only speculate for example what the outcome of the Iranian hostage crisis might have been had there been such an agency wholly independent of government connections available to play such a role.

Finally, let me say a word about the role of the proposed Peace Academy in researching and developing alternatives to military force as a basis for national defense. While mentioning this now only briefly, I also direct the attention of members of the committee to the lengthier discussion of this in the written testimony that I submitted.

We all know that is a dangerous world that we live in and, for that reason, our Nation needs a strong and vigilant national defense. That defense is going to remain a military defense until and unless nonmilitary alternatives are developed. Nonmilitary social defense is a concept which should and must be developed as a prerequisite to truly eliminating war. Social defense is predicated on using nonmilitary means of struggle, including social, economic, political, and psychological.

Dr. Gene Sharp of Harvard University cites historical examples in which such defense has been used successfully in order to counteract Soviet invasion as well as a case in which German Jews in World War II were saved.

As I made clear in my written testimony, I am not talking merely about moral opposition to violence but developing a workable, practical, effective alternative to the military. Several of our Western European allies have already begun diverting portions of their defense budget toward nonmilitary defense. The United States trails far behind in this field. Again, developing workable, effective, resorts to war is a necessary prerequisite to establish true peace. Here is an important contribution to the Peace Academy.

Once again, let me thank you, Senator Pell, and your colleagues, for inviting me here to testify today.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Senator Pell.

Senator **Pell**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am just delighted that Mr. Elmer is here.

I was wondering if you feel that the Academy they should deal with international as well as domestic conflict?

Dr. **Elmer**. My area of expertise and service in the AFSC deals with international relations, international conflicts. I saw no reason, in reviewing the records of the Commission findings which I read carefully, why the Peace Academy should not also address itself to domestic conflict resolution. An important area and clearly one related to a number of areas to international peace.

Senator **Pell**. Do you think that the Peace Academy can enhance perceptions at home and abroad that we are committed to international peace.

Dr. **Elmer**. Very much so.

As I pointed out in the written statement that I submitted, the proposed appropriation to the Peace Academy is a small part of the defense budget. One which will put the overall stance or position of the United States in a perspective, in effect, put the United States on record as recognizing the importance of peace, international security, importance of peace in the whole field of international relations. And I think that that, as you say, will be crucially important in terms of U.S. relations with other countries and other nations' perceptions of us as Americans and what our priorities are.

Senator **Pell**. Are any of you familiar with the legislation that Senator Symington introduced in the very early sixties, very much along the same direction? Any of you recall that? Dr. Wedge, you do?

Dr. **Wedge**. Yes, I do.

Senator **Pell**. Was that rather similar to this?

Dr. **Wedge**. Yes, that was in the form of an attempt—arrangement, and the time was not ready for it. Otherwise, it would be very similar fields of discussion.

Senator **Pell**. I remember I played a role at that point and thought it was not a good idea because, one, the world seemed to be less embarked on the course of war than it is today and second, I had very real concerns about how truly objective professors who are drawing their checks from Uncle Sam would be. I think that both of these situations have changed. New legislation has adequate safeguards in it in that regard, and also the need for the Academy is much more dire today.

But, in a sense, I feel I owe an apology to Senator Symington because I was the one who played a role in holding off on that legislation at that time.

Dr. **Wedge**. In that case, Senator Pell, we owe a vote of gratitude to you because, Senator Pell, in 1976, recommended a commission saying that the only way to obtain our goal was to get the nose of the camel under the tent and not go for big and difficult process, and the Center for Peace Academy Commission route—Senator Matsunaga has headed. I have come to a sense that these things cannot come to focus until a time comes to divergence with manpower and with sentiments and with pressures in the world. The time had not come in the sixties when Senator Symington introduced that legislation.

Senator PELL. We do not have here an institutional memory in the Senate. This is something that happened just 10 Congresses ago. I think I am the only one on this side of the Senate who recalls it. Apparently you are the only one on the panel who does. I do not know what the answer is, but we ought to have, perhaps, more permanent civil service employees on the Senate side that would have that memory as we politicians come and go. That does not seem to be the case. Any staff person here 20 years ago? They were not born, most of them.

Thank you. That is fine.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you, Senator Pell.

We will now hear from the director of the Peace Studies Institute, Manhattan College in the Bronx, Dr. Joseph Fahey.

Dr. FAHEY. I am Dr. Joseph Fahey, director of the Peace Studies Institute at Manhattan College. I am honored to appear before you today representing the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, a voluntary association of some 213 Catholic institutions in the United States and Puerto Rico.

In addition to its collaborative efforts with the other higher education associations, ACCU devotes special attention to those areas of concern which have a particular relevance for institutions in their need of both church and society. It is in this context that ACCU has been actively engaged in promoting education for peace and justice on its member campuses. So we appreciate the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee in support of Senate bill No. 1889 to establish a U.S. Academy of Peace.

We believe this legislation is not only necessary but long overdue. As the distinguished members of this subcommittee know, this is a concept which has appeared before the Congress in various forms many times during our history. Never before, however, has it appeared at a time of greater international tension. And never before has the field of peace studies and peace research had so much to offer toward a nonviolent resolution of both national and international crises. We believe that the United States has a responsibility to itself and to the world to promote peaceful solutions to disagreements among peoples and nations, and the ACCU believes that Senator Matsunaga's bill to establish a U. S. Academy of Peace provides a workable means to that end.

I also appear before you as one who directs a multidisciplinary Peace Studies Institute at Manhattan College in New York City. Our program—which leads to the bachelor of arts degree—is now 10 years old and encompasses some 12 disciplines from Anthropology through World Literature and consists of over 30 individual courses. We have reached over 6,000 students with one or another course in peace studies, and have graduated over 80 majors in the field. To a person, our graduates report that their training in dispute settlement and conflict resolution skills has been exceptionally useful in their careers which include education, law, labor relations, social work, business, and government service. Our Institute was founded through the inspiration of Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris" which called all people of good will to educate for peace.

Our students, alumni, and faculty have greeted with great enthusiasm the prospect of the establishment of a U.S. Academy of Peace. The following are the major reasons for our support:

One, our own experience and research in the nonviolent resolution of conflict has demonstrated that there are literally hundreds of little known but practical alternatives to violence which considerably broaden our options to the handling of conflict situations. But far more research needs to be done and we view the establishment of the Academy of Peace as a major impetus to the pursuit of this type of research.

Two, we very much need an information and data base on conflict resolution to advise those who formulate defense and foreign policy issues so as to enable them to consider a more broad range of options in the formuiation of such policy. A national information and data base located at the Academy of Peace would serve not only the interests of a more creative foreign and domestic policy nationally, but would also be an excellent resource for the handling of local conflicts in our Nation's homes, businesses, schools, and municipalities.

Three, the complexity of contemporary global tensions demands specialists who are professionally trained in the peaceful resolution of conflict. While peace is an art, it is also very much a science, and the establishment of a graduate level Academy of Peace would contribute significantly to peace by providing our Government and Nation with scientifically trained specialists in the myriad forms of dispute settlement.

Four, it is our hope that there would be a strong relationship between the National Academy of Peace and such schools as Manhattan College. There could be collaborative faculty and students' seminars, shared grants and research, as well as consultation on crisis situations which demand the expertise of the trained specialist. In short, it should be of the essence of the Academy to have an "outreach" program to our Nation's schools and universities to further aid them in their own development, research, and education for peace.

Five, the remarkable success of the American Arbitration Association in settling literally thousands of disputes without violence is but a precursor of the future. The establishment of a national Academy of Peace would have profound international implications for the avoidance of war through diplomacy, mediation, and arbitration. It is very much in the interest of the United States to support such an academy not only because of its practical utility in resolving disputes without violence but also because the very existence of the Academy would be an important symbol of the concern of the citizens of the United States for peace. How many other nations would follow suit and establish their own peace academies with the result that international tension would be reduced and the work of justice fostered?

In summary, our Nation needs an independent Academy of Peace to examine and develop an important body of research on conflict resolution; to train specialists in the field; to enrich, serve, and legitimate already existing peace studies programs; to train political, community, and local leaders in the art of peacemaking; to be of service to other nations in their quest for peace; and to serve as a beacon of hope for all the world's children that they may have a future which is free from war and secure in justice.

This is an historic day. So many of us who have often stood outside Congress demanding peace are now inside Congress actively collaborating for peace. In one sense, the Academy of Peace has already been established. It remains for you distinguished gentlemen to carry it to its successful conclusion. Do count on those of us at the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities and in the peace studies community for our continued support and assistance.

Thank you.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Dr. Fahey, for your most valuable contribution.

We will now hear from the director of the peace studies program, Church of the Brethren in Washington, Dr. Kenneth Brown.

Dr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I will highlight points from my written testimony.

My name is Kenneth L. Brown, director of the peace studies Institute and Program in Conflict Resolution, Manchester College in Indiana. I speak on behalf of the bill for a U.S. Academy of Peace for the general board of the Church of the Brethren, which is the parent denomination of Manchester College. The Brethren are Christians whose concern for peace and reconciliation is at the heart of our historic and current self-identity. Along with Quakers and Mennonites, the Church of the Brethren is a historic peace fellowship. We perceive the call to be peacemakers as central to the New Testament teaching of what it means to be Christians. Our history is the story of objection to wars for reason of faith; wars which in retrospect seem to us not to have achieved the justice they sought. Theologically, warfare violates the spirit of New Testament Christianity. Philosophically, war eradicates the very basis of morality itself: individual choice. Pragmatically, the consequences of war are counterproductive. Pragmatically, the Church of the Brethren has a deep and abiding commitment to pursuing alternatives to war.

In 1948, Manchester College established an interdisciplinary major in peace studies. Ours was the first peace studies program in the United States.

Our experience at Manchester College and study of other peace studies programs highlight several aspects of the Commission's report and underline the need for a U.S. Academy of Peace. None of the three functional areas proposed for the Academy by S. 1889 is adequately encompassed in present programs. The first of these functions concerns the development of research skills and methodologies. Studies of our present program show that only 6 or 7 percent of the time is devoted to this area, and we are more deficient in attention to research techniques than in any other aspect.

The second function, according to the bill, is to offer graduate and postgraduate training possibilities. Those of us who work at the undergraduate level in peace studies are aware of the limited options available for graduate interdisciplinary study. Perhaps three or four institutions meaningfully talk about the studies program. The U.S. Academy of Peace, as an institution devoted exclusively to the study of conflict resolution, would be a great help in filling this educational gap.

Third, the Academy would be mandated to develop public education resources and to engage in educational programs, activities for which very few of us who are presently involved in peace education have staff or means. This activity on the part of the Academy would be incalculably important. Americans have learned to think in terms of win/lose, as other people have testified today. Our television entertainment, hero models, and our larger mode of perception tends to be polarized. Because many persons perceive conflict encounters as a zero sum game in which there can only be winners and losers, adversarial relationships are actually intensified and result in negative sum games in which everybody loses. The absence of awareness as to the possibility of mutually satisfactory conflict settlement, along with applicable skills to achieve it, will tear our society apart through domestic conflict. Lack of similar perception and skills at the international level condemn us to nuclear holocaust or a similar fate.

In a representative democracy, even our most skilled negotiators are severely hampered if there is no broad public support for their efforts. A problem-solving mentality in which win/win options are sought, rather than exclusive national advantage, could greatly facilitate international negotiations such as our present talks at Geneva with the Soviet Union.

In terms of assumptions, there is abundant research in peace studies literature which would challenge the most basic of all assumptions in which our national defense now rests: the assumption that the best way to maintain peace is to prepare for war. Such assumptions and applicable research needs to be brought to the attention of the public.

The time is right for a U.S. Academy of Peace. The legitimacy of war as a means of solving international conflicts has broken down. War's objective—victory—is no longer applicable in a world of 50,000 nuclear weapons. War's moral intent—protection of the innocent and prosecution of the guilty—is impossible, given the technology of modern combat. People overwhelmingly agree on the unattractiveness and ineffectiveness of warfare. What is still lacking are viable, realistic alternatives. We have not developed a Copernican theory of peace to replace the Ptolemaic view of war. Until such models are explored and developed, no shift in world opinion and corresponding national behaviors will take place. The role of the Academy of Peace should be to explore and develop and disseminate new paradigms.

A U.S. Academy of Peace would be an important expression of will on the part of our Government to seek new solutions to old problems. It would be an expression of faith in human ingenuity and the refusal to accept the unacceptable: annihilation or submission to injustice. An Academy of Peace would convey to the world unshakable conviction that there are third and fourth and fifth possibilities yet to be explored and utilized in our behalf.

The Academy, finally, would symbolize our striving for unity with all the peoples of the world. Conflict techniques, however much they are researched and developed, are inadequate without an underlying change in world view. Success in conflict resolution resides in the extension of respect which stems from prior attitudes of global interdependence and unity. The Church of the Brethren believes that all people are God's children. From a global perspective, all wars must be viewed as civil wars. And, as Martin King proclaimed, we must learn to live together as brothers and sisters, or die together as fools. However despicable the actions of others, we remain bound to them in our common destiny of this moment. The biblical ideal of social interdependence has become, in the shadow of nuclear war, a necessity. The ultimate test of the United States will be whether we recognize that necessity and in so doing choose life rather than death for our children. The establishment of an Academy of Peace would be a concrete step in the direction of life.

Mr. Chairman, I think it was Bertold Brecht who pointed out that the city of Carthage fought three wars. After the first, she was still strong; after the second, she was still inhabitable; and after the third, she was nowhere to be found.

Thank you very much.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you very much, Dr. Brown.

We will now hear from Dr. Mattson from Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa.

Dr. **Mattson**. Thank you, Senator.

It is my pleasure to represent Gettysburg College and many other segments of the Gettysburg community—including the administration of the Gettysburg National Military Park, many Government and business leaders, the Eisenhower Society, and the Lutheran Theological Seminary—and to state our enthusiastic support of the legislation to establish a U.S. Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

There are many reasons why we support this legislation. Gettysburg College, the oldest of the Lutheran Church related colleges in America, originates in a tradition inseparable from nonviolent conflict resolution and the search for "the things that make for peace." We believe in the strategy of "mobilizing the forces of truth and peace in the oppressor as well as the oppressed." Our work with students makes us particularly aware of the need for bold gestures of hope in areas of conflict. Recent studies indicate that the flight of many young people from responsibility to impulsive action and sensory stimulation stems, in part, from the feeling that there is no future, because atomic cataclysm is inevitable. Gettysburg itself is eloquent argument for the establishment of a Peace Academy. The town is surrounded by hundreds of monuments to the more than 10,000 men who perished in America's bloodiest battle, a daily reminder of the fearful consequences of violent conflict.

A unique part of our support for the Peace Academy is the close relationship of Gettysburg College and community to the life and memory of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gettysburg resident and college trustee, who for the last 8 years of his life had his office on the Gettysburg campus. In 1959, there had been discussions between Lt. Gen. Willard Paul, retired, then president of the college, and President Eisenhower about the establishment of a peace institute at Gettysburg College. As Eisenhower said in a 1950 lecture on peace:

> There is something almost shocking in the realization that, though many millions have been voluntarily donated for research in cancer of the individual body, nothing similar has been done with respect to the most malignant cancer in the world, war.

In 1953, he stated:

> Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists and the hopes of its children...This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

Another part of our enthusiasm for the proposed academy—and one, we think, that argues for an institution established by the Federal Government—is the hope that, once established, the academy will become a vital part of the career process for many, both civilian and military, who live at the places where conflicts occur. Thus interjecting new dynamics into immensely threatening situations.

Furthermore, we see the proposed Peace Academy as an appropriate response to the increasingly evident fears of the smaller nations of the world about potentially cataclysmic conflicts between the super powers. The establishment of the Peace Academy would be a sign to the world that we are trying to be responsible stewards of our immense power.

We would like to suggest that Gettysburg would be an appropriate place in which to locate the proposed academy. I have already mentioned the college's unique relationship to President Eisenhower and his strong commitment to peace studies. Gettysburg offers relatively close proximity to Washington, 80 miles, and to other major centers of population. The college itself would have administrative, faculty, and library resources to supplement and assist Gettysburg in development of such an academy, particularly in its early stages. Preliminary conversations with leaders in the community indicate that good land could be made available for the new institution.

Perhaps most important of all is Gettysburg's symbolic value. The act of planting an institution for the peaceful resolution of conflict on or near the most famous battlefield of the Civil War—the high water mark of American violence—would be an act of great significance. It was also at Gettysburg that Abraham Lincoln, probably the American President most profoundly troubled by the tragedy of war, delivered his immortal Gettysburg Address at the site of the National Cemetery. It was at Gettysburg 75 years later that Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated the Peace Light which, as Governor Earle said that day, is to be a sign to ourselves and the world "that we have bound ourselves together for the cause of peace."

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Dr. Mattson, and I am sure that in due time perhaps Gettysburg will be considered as one of the satellites for one of its stations.

Now, we will hear from the Director of Center for Conflict Resolution of George Mason University, one whom I personally know as having been very active in this effort to establish a U.S. department, not only U.S. Academy of Peace, but a U.S. Department of Peace, Dr. Bryant Wedge.

Dr. WEDGE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask your permission to have my statement entered into the record. It said some things which I think are significant to you, but I would like to speak to something which, as an addendum to that statement, about where we are now in the Falkland Islands dispute, if that is agreeable to you.

Senator MATSUNAGA. All of your statements will appear in the record as if delivered in full. Understandably, because of the limitation of time, we have asked the panelists to limit their testimony to 5 minutes and to summarize their statements. But you can rest assured your statement will be in the record in full.

Dr. WEDGE. Thank you, Senator Matsunaga.

I would have started in my statement by saying that until December 17, 1903, a lot of people had a dream of men flying through the air. On December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, one Orville Wright flew 120 feet in 12 seconds, and we knew that man flies and could fly and something has grown from that; a great system of international commerce and communication, and airlines and technology have grown from that first moment of truth.

At George Mason University, I left the Peace Academy campaign to work on a little bicycle with wings, a prototype for the Peace Academy because I know that they will never arrive in being until we can say we have tried it and, by God, it flies. Well, I can tell you today the training program for peacemakers flies. We have had enough experience now, enough teachers meshed together, enough faculty boards, enough Senatorial aides attending courses and learning from them and acting as peacemakers, and surprising their professors already because no professor can teach this because none of them have identified it. We were trained in some discipline or some theory. Now, we have a new kind of cat—the first peacemakers in the history of the world professionally oriented.

But I want to talk about the Falkland Island dispute in relation to the Peace Academy. Because on the 7th of this month, Judy Mann wrote in a column in the Washington Post that it would have been useful if the President "could have announced that the United States was making available a cadre of the best mediators in the world to help Britain and Argentina reach a peaceful solution."

If we had the Peace Academy, things might have been different.

I want to suggest to you that although the Peace Academy does not exist formally, it is in being in some way and we should not lose Judy Mann's point, and I suggest that her suggestion is a practical one.

In any case, responsive to that thought, Mr. Eric Cox of this city said "Why do we not send the world's best mediators?" And he did two things. He said who are the world's best mediators? He decided that Roger Fisher of the Harvard Negotiation Project, and I, coming from psychological discipline, could probably make the best team. And he called us and asked if Harvard and George Mason would associate themselves together. And he started calling up people and people started putting up money to put a project together. Very pleasant. Let me tell you what came out of that.

I contacted the working group of the State Department, the British and Argentine Embassy, and I found out in State particularly, they wanted everything to hold very, very still because of the delicacy of balances and the danger of the circumstances, and that because State never moves when its Secretary is involved in a negotiation, and in fact cannot even pass messages up the channels very easily. So things freeze as they did when Kissinger was orchestrating things. A lot of good solutions went by because Kissinger was orchestrating, and they came from one head. The same thing happened in the Falklands. We did not go public with the press. We called the Foreign Relations Committee, and they said Senator Percy had been asked by Secretary Haig to freeze. They were considering alternative approaches and not competitive, parallel approaches; basically they have liberated me and themselves from the alternatives due to the fact that the crisis seems to have been contained by the diplomatic procedures that Secretary Haig has so magnificently carried out, given the limitations in which he was working.

Almost simultaneously, with Eric Cox calling up and organizing Roger Fisher and me, another colleague, John Burton, who was once the head of the Australian Foreign Office, but now is in England running a Centre for the Analysis of Conflict in Canterbury, England, called me up, and he said, Bryant, I think people have got things crosswise and I want to tell you another view. The disputes, the quarreling people in this, are not the ones who everybody thinks. They are just the Falkland Islanders and the Government of Argentina. Now Great Britain is involved and the United States is getting greatly involved when the problem lies between 1,800 people in an isolated place and the Argentinian Government which is somewhat shaky. So, if that is the case, why do we not go to the heart of it to where the infection is starting? Why do we not get those folks together, and he recommended that we invite three persons from the Governing Council of the Falklands to come together in Washington, D.C., with three members of the Argentine Government who can speak for it, and we placed them in a kind of forum that he had developed in dealing with places like Cyprus or Northern Ireland, in which they would carry on discussions in the presence of three of his colleagues whom he would bring from England, and several American professors like Chadwick Alger of Ohio State University, and Herbert Kelman of Harvard, who are experienced with the method that allows people to sort out issues and find out where they were misunderstanding each other. And he believes on those grounds, by those methods, the central dispute could be possibly moved toward resolution.

So we put this forward to the working group and particularly the Argentine Government. I will have a breakfast or morning invitation with the Ambassador from Argentina in a few days and also with the State Department, or the Foreign Relations Committee principal aide in a few days about this kind of alternative.

Just as I am sitting here in this room, however, here I get an envelope handed me from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C. Somebody else in this Department of Defense is interested in some possibility that it might engage in peacemaking activities in the Argentinian circumstances and is offering other proposals.

Now, these are seriously backed proposals in each case. What I am saying here is that there have been vast resources available, not used, not organized, partly because we do not have a Peace

Academy. If we had a legitimate body, I know that Secretary Haig would have turned to us. Since we do not have a legitimate body, we can make an illegitimate one and structure a group.

The final comment on this is that this is getting rather complicated, and I am not very good at complicated things. I have asked James Laue if this thing comes up and we can mobilize these various people's capability contributing to a peace process together, James Laue will come to Washington to sort out the options just as he did with the Methodist Bishop of West Virginia when they had a schoolbus crisis.

I want to show you the immediacy. These are war, peace, life and death problems for a lot of people. They are very, very costly, and if we could contribute to them, supplementing normal diplomatic activities, I think it is our purpose, it is our duty to put it forward, and it is our duty to point out that the Secretary of State or any high official carries terrible liabilities in attempting to mediate. First, his job requires him to represent the interests of the United States. First of all, if he does not do it, he ought to be fired. So everybody knows he is not an impartial mediator. He is a person pressing his interests; he is a wolf in lamb's clothing from their point of view.

Second, he carries great power, so whatever proposal he puts forward, the element of coercion is in it. And as soon as coercion is in it, people get their backs up, they lock in on their complex. If you want a system to lock in, you would send the Secretary of State. We did that system and it is fortunate that a good deal of skill and effort and good will helped us pass this. But there will be alternatives when the Secretary of State knows that something is available and he could better send some harmless school teachers. But, in such a circumstance, they will be worked with. Then I think we will be in a far better place and the world will be in a far safer place.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Wedge follows:]

Testimony of Bryant Wedge, Director, Center for Conflict
Resolution, George Mason University.

Hearings on the United States Academy of Peace

Before the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities,
Senate Committee on Labor and Human Welfare; Senator Robert
T. Stafford, Chairman.
April 21, 1982

FROM DRAWING BOARD TO WORKING MODEL OF THE PEACE ACADEMY

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Members and Friends, my name is Bryant Wedge and I am Director of the Center for Conflict Resolution at George Mason University, the State University of Northern Virginia. I have been associated with efforts to find better ways to mesh our power and purposes since I was a United States Eisenhower Exchange Fellow in 1959, and have been associated with the National Peace Academy Campaign (N-PAC) from its inception.

Honorable Members, until December 17, 1903 a lot of people thought that some day man might fly. On that date, Orville Wright was lifted from the ground on a complicated bicycle with wings and flew 120 feet in 12 seconds. Gentlemen, since 1789 when Benjamin Rush and Benjamin Bannecker first proposed a Peace Office for the United States, a number of Americans have thought that such a contraption might fly. I am here today to tell you that we have taken the first trial flight in training professional peacemakers at our Center, and that the blessed thing flies. The signs are that the Peace Academy enterprise is headed for as exciting a future as was aviation after that first trial flight. Even better, this new development may help see us safely into the next Century.

In 1980 the President and Board of George Mason University invited Mr. Henry Barringer, an experienced diplomat, and me to establish a model program in the training of peacemakers with the purpose of testing out whether an old and plausible idea could work in practice and to provide a prototype for the Peace Academy.

Together with a number of faculty members from Departments such as Politics, International Relations, Sociology, Psychology, History, Philosophy, Communications, Business, Language, Anthropology, and others, and together with over 50 practitioners in mediating industrial, labor, community, family and international disputes, we have constructed a curriculum which will begin in the Fall of this year, and will lead to a Master of Science Degree in Conflict Management. In 1984 we expect to graduate the first 40 rigorously trained professional peacemakers in the history of the world.

Honorable Members, rather than burdening you with the academic details of curriculum development, I will append to my testimony a paper on "Conflict Management: A new Venture into Professionalization" which describes our program. Here I will tell you that the reason we know that this bird flies is that we have given warm-up courses entitled "Communication and Conflict" and a "Pro-seminar in Issues in Conflict Resolution", and have found that students are ready to engage in serious, substantive, practical, intellectually respectable learning. Some of them are already ahead of their professors. As President Johnson indicated, these students include police officers, school officials, Federal officials, attorneys, two Senate aides, and others, each committed to applying their knowledge to problem-solving in the real world.

I will briefly address two out of the many issues that have arisen and have yet to be threshed out as the Peace Academy evolves. The first is "Where are the jobs?" The answer is short - there are none. There are no Federal posts that are not occupied already. There are few municipal or state centers which might employ our graduates. There are some private practitioners in industrial and family dispute services, but the market is not yet large. What we tell our students is that their first professional act will necessarily be to negotiate entirely new positions in the structure of our society and that if they need security they should look elsewhere. A few are deterred and go off for MBA. But more are challenged by the risks and opportunities involved in establishing a new professional service in a world that needs it.

The second question that often arises is how students can afford this training in the Peace Academy. Should they, as in the military academies, be on the public payroll in anticipation of public service? My preliminary response is to suggest that they should not. If we are training professionals and if there is indeed a professional future for this field, it seems to me that the students can mortgage that future by borrowing against it. What is essential is a revolving student loan fund capable of meeting the entire cost of participating in the program, loan funds such as those made available to medical students. This should be administered by the Peace Academy itself and is justified by the public service which will be rendered on a flexible voluntary basis rather than assigned positions. For example, I imagine that a majority of the first graduating class may become employed in training other students since I have estimated the market will reach over 200,000 by the year 2000. My suggestion is that one million dollars be contributed to this fund each year for five years with private sector contributions providing half the capital; i.e., that $500,000 a year be appropriated to be matched by private donations. The private sector has a stake and deserves some ownership of this enterprise.

There is one other issue that I wish to bring before this distinguished Committee. Although the Peace Academy legislation has not yet passed, it is time to gear up for that eventuality. One way to do this - and it has been done before - is to pass a resolution or amendment which will permit departments of the Federal Government to assign employees to this function. Under Section 7(d) of S. 1889, U.S. Academy of Peace Act, "The president (of the Peace Academy) may request the assignment of any Federal officer or employee to the Academy." I believe that this provision could wisely be anticipated. Already members of the Departments of Education, Interior, Defense and the Peace Corps have indicated strong personal interest in such assignment.

On behalf of the Center for Conflict Resolution, I would be very pleased to offer our facilities to such a gearing-up project without any cost to the Government beyond continuing salaries of Government employees assigned to this function. We would ask the National Peace Education Fund, which was formed for such purpose, to support the costs of organization; again on the principal of joint public-private action.

A very few years ago no one would have thought that this Committee might be sitting on this suggestion. I believe that the Honorable Members are considering an action as significant for the welfare and security of our country as any piece of legislation since its founding documents. I believe that mankind is turning a corner in the conduct of its business and that the Peace Academy idea is the very spearpoint of this change. Future generations are certain to be grateful to the Members of this Committee. I will be pleased to respond to any questions that the Members may have about our flying prototype.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A NEW VENTURE INTO PROFESSIONALIZATION*

Bryant Wedge and Dennis J. D. Sandole

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and
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Prepared for presentation at the Annual Convention of the Political Studies Association, University of Kent at Canterbury, England, 14-16 April 1982.

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CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A NEW VENTURE INTO PROFESSIONALIZATION

Bryant Wedge and Dennis J.D. Sandole*

During the last 50 years a new field has been emerging, primarily among the social sciences, but also involving the natural sciences. Part of it is concerned with uncovering the conditions and determinants of conflict behavior, particularly aggressive or violent conflict, at all levels of human organization -- e.g., interpersonal, intergroup, international. This part is variously known as Conflict Analysis, Conflict Studies, or just plain Conflict. Among its pioneers are Quincy Wright in the United States and Lewis F. Richardson in Great Britain. Though Wright and Richardson were stimulated to pursue their studies primarily by the systematic, sustained, and near-global slaughter associated with World War I, the need to continue the work pioneered by them has been reinforced by World War II and the nuclear age whose potential for planetary destruction -- what we might call "globicide" -- continues to escalate unabated all around us. Reinforcement has come from less dramatic quarters as well, in the form of actual or threatened conventional wars and domestic incidents in various parts of the world.

Obviously enough, it is one thing to uncover the causes and dynamics of aggressive conflict and quite another to avoid, prevent, contain, or resolve conflict. Consequently, Conflict Analysis -- depending upon one's conceptual or terminological preferences -- has come to be either joined by, inclusive of, or subsumed under what has been variously labelled as Conflict Resolution, Peace Research, Peace Science, or Peace Studies. It should be clear, then, that the new field, which, for purposes of simplicity and convenience, we shall call Conflict and Peace Studies (CAPS), is comprised of two distinct but interrelated tracks: one concerned with uncovering the causes of aggressive conflict and the other concerned with preventing, managing, and resolving aggressive conflict.

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While a considerable body of theoretical and empirical literature has developed out of CAPS, enough for the field to be viewed as an emerging discipline, whatever corresponding professionalization has taken place has involved those who _study_ the causes and management of conflict more than it has those who actually _attempt_ _to_ _resolve_ aggressive conflicts. In other words, professionalization has tended to feature more among the theoreticians and researchers than it has among the practitioners (even though the latter probably outnumber the former). Indicators of professionalization in this regard include the Peace Science Society (International) and the International Peace Research Association (IPRA). Both of these convene conferences worldwide as well as publish journals, e.g., _Papers, Peace Science Society (International)_ and _Journal of Peace Research_, respectively. Also included here, and predating the two international associations, is the _Journal of Conflict Resolution_.

2.

But the balance between the theoretical and practical dimensions of CAPS is starting to shift, so that the professionalization process is emphasizing not only practitioners as well as theoreticians but also an integrated theoretician-practitioner. A good deal of the responsibility for this shift rests with the 35 or so members of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development (COPRED). COPRED's membership includes the University of Waterloo in Canada, the University of Haifa in Israel, and the University of Bradford in England as well as some 32 colleges and universities in the United States. Hence, though predominantly North American, the COPRED-contribution to the balanced professionalization of CAPS does have an international dimension.

International professionalization in this regard has been given a significant boost by Costa Rica and the United Nations. On 27 September 1978, the President of Costa Rica, Rodrigo Carazo, proposed to the U. N. General Assembly the establishment in Costa Rica of a University for Peace within the context of the U. N. University. On 14 December 1979, the General Assembly approved the idea of the University and established a Commission which, together with the Government of Costa Rica, would explore the idea further and set the stage for bringing the University into being. On 5 December 1980, after the Commission presented its Report to the Secretary-General, the General Assembly approved unanimously not just the idea but the actual establishment of the University itself. And on 7 April 1981, the International Agreement to create the University came into force after the requisite 10 member-nations from more than one continent signed it. As of 9 December 1981, 22 member-nations had signed the Agreement.

The University for Peace would be a "specialized international institute for post-graduate studies, research, and the dissemination of knowledge specifically aimed at training for peace".[1] The rationale for establishing the University for Peace within the context of the U.N. University, and offering it to the international community through the United Nations, is that, ideally, the University for Peace would contribute to the realization of the goals for which the United Nations was created. An interesting question is why Costa Rica should have made this offer. Perhaps for the same reasons that it, via an amendment to its Constitution, abolished its armed forces in 1949. In any case, as of this writing, land for the University for Peace has been made available about twenty minutes from downtown San José, the capital of Costa Rica; ceremonial groundbreaking has taken place, and construction and curriculum development are underway.

At the same time that the University for Peace was being explored at the global level, a similar development was taking place in the United States. This concerns the proposal to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict

Resolution, an idea which goes back to the time of George Washington. After years of attempts to establish a peace academy, department or institute -- including over 140 bills introduced into the Congress between 1935 and the late 1960s alone -- the Congress passed legislation in 1978 creating the U. S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. After more than a year of investigating theories and techniques of conflict resolution, hearing testimony at 12 public hearings across the country, participating in other meetings, and writing up their findings, the Commission presented its Final Report on 20 October 1981 to President Reagan and both Houses of Congress. In its Report, the Commission recommended that legislation be enacted to create a United States Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution which would conduct research, provide education and training, and provide public information with regard to peacemaking and conflict resolution at all levels of society -- international, national, and community.[2] Shortly after, legislation to establish such an Academy was introduced into the House of Representatives (HR 5088) on 21 November 1981 and into the Senate (S. 1889) on 24 November 1981.

The U. S. Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution shares with the U. N. University for Peace an emphasis on research, education, and public information. The Academy is, however, broader than the University in its terms of reference because it is concerned with communal and national as well as international conflict. Also, given its location at the national level, the Academy is more likely than the University to be a role-model for other nations with similar concerns. In Britain, for instance, the Conflict Research Society (CRS), together with the Dispute Settlement Research Group (DSRG) at The City University in London and the Center for the Analysis of Conflict (CAC) at the University of Kent in Canterbury, are exploring the possibility of a similar development there. But these statements of minor differences should not detract from the fact that, at the global as well as national level, important developments are taking place which augur well for the further balanced professionalization of CAPS.

We approve of these developments because we believe there exists a need for further professionalization. Why? In the first place, such a need is implied in our opening remarks. Indeed, as we go to press, mass movements in Europe and in the United States are stridently demonstrating their resistance to policies which appear to be leading nowhere except to globicide -- to the increased probability that the "Big Bang Theory" may take on another meaning. But in the second place, though the elements of a CAPS professional community (e.g., a literature, researchers and theorists, and practitioners) have been emerging for some time now, CAPS tends to be something which does not exist in the public or decision-making consciousness as an option, as a resource which might be called upon. By and large, when conflicts threaten to become nasty, there is a marked tendency at all social levels to "call out the Marines". One of the reasons for this is that the elements of the CAPS professional community have not yet been integrated into a coherent whole. One of the essential tasks of the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, as well as the University for Peace, would be to address this need. In other words, further balanced professionalization of CAPS is necessary to pulling together the various strands of the community, and vice versa. This, in turn, is essential to institutionalization of the community -- for making it a salient option in people's minds. Conflicts are certainly salient in people's minds; now we just have to concentrate on making salient the kinds of options which CAPS represents.[3]

Processes to achieve this saliency are already in motion. We have mentioned COPRED, the U. N. University for Peace, and the U. S. National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Each of these is concerned with education and training as well as with research and public information. By producing credentialed conflict managers, by creating an ever-expanding pool of skilled professionals, these programs are or would be contributing to the institutionalization of CAPS.

So, there is a need for the further professionalization and, therefore, institutionalization of CAPS. Moreover, the existing elements of the field appear to be ripe in this regard. We only have to encourage existing and, hopefully, soon-to-exist processes which can facilitate further professionalization and institutionalization. One way to do this is to emphasize, argue, and lobby to the effect that CAPS promises to render a distinctive service of value to society and that the available body of experience and knowledge can be organized into a rigorous program of training of professionals to render that service. The acid test here, of course, would be the ability to design and carry through an appropriate curriculum.[4] Before discussing the organization of such a curriculum, however, let us first identify the professional service being contemplated and then specify some of the components necessary to perform the service.

The service is clear and simple: it is the capacity to intervene in circumstances of conflict between social entities to facilitate their arriving at arrangements to the advantage of each with a minimum of violence and other costs. Such a definition of service leads immediately to several elements of the curricular knowledge base.

First is the definition of role. The conflict resolver cannot be a party to the dispute, he/she/they must be impartial and able to relate evenhandedly to the parties. The conflict resolver remains outside of the conflict system. This may sound simple, but it actually represents a fundamental advance in distinguishing roles in conflict intervention. In this regard, it should be apparent that neither lawyers nor diplomats can, in their roles as advocates, simultaneously occupy the impartial and mediatory third-party role.

It follows from this that the very first element in training must involve gaining an appreciation of the theory of roles in conflict. On the technical side, it must also involve training in requirements for establishing and maintaining roles as credible outsiders who are able to appreciate the purposes of activists and advocates involved in the conflict system.[5] Thus, we can establish the initial and basic curricular elements, i.e. training in the theory and practice of cross-cultural communication and role definition.

Now, perhaps, we can specify some of the specific knowledge bases for this new discipline. While the practices of conflict resolution are as old as organized societies, the means for their analysis are all recent developments. These include an appreciation of non-zero-sum game theory, theories of communication, steering and feed back; value analysis and political, cultural and social-psychological theories of group life.[6]

This does not imply that the new profession will require deep scholarship in each of these bodies of thought, only that this range of concepts provides tools for problem-solving analysis of social transactions. In this way, it becomes more and more possible to identify sources of conflict and to facilitate the discovery of alternative solutions that satisfy the disputants. This also indicates the need for multi-disciplined inputs combining stores of knowledge and ideas in new technical methods.

Complementing theory-based analysis of disputes are the empirically developed skills of communication and negotiation that have rapidly evolved over the last three decades. Experience in labor mediation with special techniques for formulating bargaining positions, fact finding, representative bargaining with mediative facilitation, caucusing and other techniques for finding solutions in the collective bargaining framework are to some degree transferable to management of community, and even international conflict.[7] The burgeoning field of environmental mediation provides a new body of experience in facilitating multi-party consensus development.[8] The even newer field of divorce and family mediation has benefitted from both of these developments and in turn is contributing to the development of community dispute services that provide alternatives to court action in such areas as custody disputes, civic quarrels and minor criminal cases.[9]

Ultimately, the integrative stimulus is provided by the professional function itself, the process of actually intervening in disputes with the purpose of assisting in their settlement. It is this function that brings scholarly analysis and theory to bear on actual problems and that requires appropriate skill development for effective intervention. Hence, the complete training requires substantial field experience and the curriculum includes definitive application to actual social issues at every phase of training.

Here, we can state the distinguishing feature of a professional approach to conflict management as manifesting a generic quality. The focus is on conflict and the conditions of its solution; it is not on specific issues or levels of analysis. This generic quality lends itself to transfer of social technologies between levels of analysis and types of problems; it provides a wider range of methods of approach than do more structured mechanisms. For example, some methods of mediation have been gaining ground in approaching international problems, starting from the management of terrorist episodes.[10] Legal approaches to family disputes are rapidly being transformed by the technologies of family mediation.[11] And we predict that industrial productivity problems will soon be approached by multi-party negotiation methods on the model of environmental mediation -- the first experiments are now taking place as negotiated investment strategies for urban communities.[12]

Implicit here is a distinction but also a relationship between, on the one hand, technical skill already substantially developed in relation to specific conflict issues such as, for example, labor contract negotiations, and on the other hand, a general professional capacity to mobilize a range of analytic and technical resources in the diagnosis and management of a variety of conflicts. These are not competing but supplementary approaches; both the specific and the general are urgently needed if the field is to flourish and provide a truly new element in the arts of association among people. In approaching a given costly conflict, the professional should be less apt to ask, "How can I mediate this dispute?". If some form of mediation is indicated, his question should become, "What sort of mediator would be most effective?". A brilliant example is provided by the Hanafi siege of Washington in 1977 when the ideal and successful mediators proved to be three Ambassadors from Moslem societies.[13]

We are now in a position to say something about how the body of knowledge and experience in CAPS can be organized into a rigorous program whose objective is to produce professional conflict managers. In this regard, we will discuss a program which has been developed by one of the more recent members of COPRED, the Center for Conflict Resolution at George Mason University (GMU) in Fairfax, Virginia.

We have selected this program for discussion not just because we are associated with it, but for three other, more important reasons as well: 1) the GMU program promises to be a comprehensive one, leading to credentialled conflict managers who can intervene in processes at the family, community, national and international levels; 2) it appears to be the first full-scale program of its kind; and 3) it has been offered as a prototype program for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.[14]

The GMU program is designed to lead to a Master of Science degree in Conflict Management, beginning in the Fall of 1982. It will require two years of full-time or about four years of part-time study. It has emerged from a two-year multidisciplinary dialogue among faculty of GMU. This dialogue continues at present because the curriculum has not reached any final form; it is still evolving. Nevertheless, we have identified some major elements which are represented in the most recent outcome of our deliberations (see Figure 1).

The GMU program has four major dimensions: 1) classroom instruction, 2) laboratory and simulation workshops, 3) fieldwork, and 4) an internship. The classroom experience will expose students to relevant information via the traditional media of lectures, seminars, and readings; the fieldwork experience will then provide them with opportunities for applying that information in dynamic real-life settings;

the laboratory and simulation workshop experience will constitute a "half-way house" between the classroom and the field, providing students with opportunities for relatively safe "dry runs" before they actually go out into the field; and the internship will link them up with the world of professional conflict management.

The classroom experience includes courses in philosophy, conflict theory, and cross-cultural communication. Philosophical Aspects of Conflict and Conflict Management has been included because of its concern with fundamental questions about the "realities" within which people operate plus the way they acquire knowledge and what kinds of truth they perceive within those worlds.[15] Also involved here will be an intensive examination of the ethics of social intervention.[16]

Theories of Conflict and Conflict Management, both the general course and the courses specific to the various levels, have been included because of their concern with the determinants of conflict, particularly of aggressive conflict; plus the ingredients of effective entry into, and management of conflict systems. This will involve a survey of theories from biology, history, psychology, sociology, political science, economics, and other fields;[17] plus a survey of conflict management mechanisms as these are actually or might be utilized at the interpersonal, community, societal, and international levels.[18] One objective here will be to establish a broad-based knowledge of the field by reviewing the theory and practice of conflict resolution through history, including case studies from each level of social organization. For example, experience in labor mediation, the emerging field of environmental mediation, community conciliation and international peacemaking will be considered.

Cross-cultural Communication is included because of its concern with the relationships between culture, perceptions, and behaviour; plus its concern with effective verbal and nonverbal communication within and between cultures.[19] We have already mentioned that the basic position of the conflict manager requires a role outside the conflict system. Nevertheless, he/she/they must be able to establish and maintain credibility with the parties to dispute. Hence, a major objective here is the establishment and maintenance of such a role.

The laboratory and simulation workshops will involve a series of structured experiences and experimental demonstrations at all levels which will be relevant to various forms of third-party intervention including enforcement and mediation in bilateral and multi-party negotiation. The objective here is two-fold: 1) to provide students with an opportunity to experience some of the realities associated with the concepts they will be hearing and reading about in class;

and, as we have already mentioned, 2) to provide them with a relatively safe opportunity to apply their learning before they go out into the field.[20] The workshops, therefore, will be a transition phase between the classroom and field experiences.

This takes us into the fieldwork, the first session of which will involve the students in establishing and carrying through a dialogue with a "contrast-community" -- i.e., communities which are different from students' previous experiences.[21] Subsequently, the fieldwork will involve participation in actual conflict intervention, with the students required to identify a community conflict (there are thousands of open or latent conflicts in any metropolitan area, from school to prison to neighborhood disputes), introduce him/herself in an impartial intervenor role, conduct an analysis of conflict issues, and attempt to engage the disputants in a conflict resolution effort.

The Internship in Conflict Management will take place for six to eight weeks during the Summer following the second semester, with students being assigned to working centers for mediation in labor, family, community or international relations. The internship will provide not only opportunities for students to explore the world of professional conflict management, but also additional opportunities for relatively safe application of learning before they are required to attempt actual conflict intervention on their own. This is one reason why the internship is offered at the end of the first year, between the first and second fieldwork sessions, rather than at the end of the second year.

Returning to the classroom experience, the fourth and final semester is designed to provide students with an opportunity to integrate the information they will have heard, read and discussed; plus the processes they will have experienced. In this regard, the Pro-seminar (i.e., professional seminar) on Conflict and Conflict Management will include intensive offerings by visiting scholars and distinguished practitioners from a variety of backgrounds. It will also involve student presentations at a thesis level of analyses of selected conflicts or conflict resolution strategies. Since the field is newly emerging, special attention will be paid to the requirements for its further professionalization and institutionalization in the remaining course, Socio-Cultural Analysis and Problem-Solving. This will include visits to established institutions and consideration of development strategies to establish new career bases.

Apropos integration, it may be clear from Figure 1, in conjunction with the above course descriptions, that the GMU program will begin and terminate with an emphasis on classroom experiences involving broad aspects of conflict and conflict management. In between, the classroom experiences will relate to conflict and conflict management at specific levels -- interpersonal, organizational, community, and international -- with fieldwork opportunities to apply the knowledge at corresponding levels. Again, the laboratory/ simulation workshops will be employed as bridges between the classroom and field. By structuring-in the laboratory/ simulation workshop in this way, it is hoped to achieve some sense of horizontal coherence. And by structuring-in progressive movement from the interpersonal to the international level, it is also hoped to achieve some sense of vertical coherence. Given these structural as well as the foregoing substantive contributions to integration, the teaching as well as the learning of the subject matter should be facilitated.

Given the above, it should be clear that the hallmark of the training program is its capacity to call upon any of the disciplines of the university to provide models and tools for the problem-solving analysis of conflicts, coupled with utilization of the knowledge and skills of institutions and practitioners of third-party intervention. Such a combination is unique to professional approaches; while the focus and integrative framework is a problem-solving service, indispensible models and methods are the product of scholarship.

The payoffs of a successful integration promise to be substantial for both the academic and applied policy communities. From the academic side, at least, we have found considerable support from scholars and scientists interested in testing their insights and seeing them applied to socially useful purpose. And practitioners appreciate finding a role in professional training within the university family, one that permits them regular and legitimate access to scholarly developments. Further, just as theory can benefit from practice, so practice can benefit from a good dose of theory.

What about employment opportunities for the new professionals in conflict management? At the global level, there is the United Nations and the International Peace Academy. At the remaining levels, the United States provides numerous examples. There are, for instance, Federal agencies such as the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Department of Justice, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and the U. S. Geological Survey which are concerned with community, labor-management, and environmental conflict management, respectively. There are also agencies at state and local levels which are concerned with conflicts within or otherwise involving school systems, prison administrations, police and security agencies. And there are private-sector organizations as well, such as the American Arbitration Association and the Special Committee on Resolution of Minor Disputes of the American Bar Association which are concerned with disputes which otherwise, and traditionally, wind up in the courts (e.g., contractural, divorce, personal injury disputes, etc.). Indeed, according to the DIRECTORY OF DISPUTE

RESOLUTION PROGRAMS, published by the Special Committee on Resolution of Minor Disputes, there are "over 125 operating mediation, conciliation, and arbitration projects throughout the country".[22]

In short, there appears to be at least a beginning with regard to the establishment of relevant professional institutions, at least in the United States. If we are correct in believing that these services will be recognized as useful and cost-effective as they become established and better known, then a new profession will have been born and further curriculua will evolve. And given COPRED and its international dimension, the establishment of the University for Peace through the United Nations, and the role-model implications of the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, this promises to be a world-wide, and not just an American phenomenon.

FIGURE 1

George Mason University
Center for Conflict Resolution
M.S. in Conflict Management
Curriculum Outline

1st Year

Semester I

Philosophical Aspects of Conflict and Conflict Management (3)
Theories of Conflict and Conflict Management (3)
Laboratory and Simulation in Conflict Processes I (3)
Cross-Cultural Communication (3)

Semester II

Interpersonal Conflict and Conflict Management (3)
Organizational Conflict and Conflict Management (3)
Laboratory and Simulation in Conflict Processes II (3)
Fieldwork in Cross-Cultural Conflict Processes I (3)

Internship in Conflict Management (6)

2nd Year

Semester III

Community Conflict and Conflict Management (3)
International Conflict and Conflict Management (3)
Laboratory and Simulation in Conflict Processes III (3)
Fieldwork in Cross-Cultural Conflict Processes II (3)

Semester IV

Pro-seminar on Conflict and Conflict Management Strategies (6)
Socio-Cultural Analysis and Problem-Solving (6)

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses refer to semester hours of credit assigned to each course.

NOTES

1. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE, United Nations, New York, September 1980.

2. TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE, Report of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1981.

3. For an extended discussion of this issue, see Dennis Sandole, "The Subjectivity of Theories and Action in World Society," in M. Banks (Ed.), CONFLICT IN WORLD SOCIETY (London: Butterworths, 1982/forthcoming).

4. We are indebted for elements of this formulation to Robert Rossow, "The Professionalization of the New Diplomacy," WORLD POLITICS, XIV.4 (July 1962), pp. 561-575.

5. See James Laue and Gerald Cormick, "The Ethics of Intervention in Community Disputes" in G. Bermant, *et al*. (Eds.), THE ETHICS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION (NY: Wiley, 1978).

6. See Anatol Rapoport, TWO-PERSON GAME THEORY: THE ESSENTIAL IDEAS (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1966); Rapoport, N-PERSON GAME THEORY: CONCEPTS AND APPLICATIONS (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1970); R.I. Tooze, "Communications Theory," in T. Taylor (Ed.) APPROACHES AND THEORY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (London and NY: Longman, 1978); F. Kluckhohn, F. Strodtbeck, *et al*., VARIATIONS IN VALUE ORIENTATIONS (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1961); and Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, GROUPS IN HARMONY AND TENSION (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1953).

7. See R.T. Clark, COPING WITH MEDIATION, FACT FINDING, AND INTEREST ARBITRATION (Chicago: International Personnel Management Association, 1974) and T.A. Kochan, RESOLVING INTERNAL MANAGEMENT CONFLICTS FOR LABOR NEGOTIATIONS (Chicago: International Personnel Management Association, 1973).

8. See Gerald Cormick, "Mediating Environmental Controversies: Perspectives and First Experience" in EARTH LAW JOURNAL, 2 (1976), pp. 215-224 and David O'Connor, "Environmental Mediation: The State-of-the-Art" in EIA REVIEW, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2 (October 1978), pp. 9-17.

9. See O.J. Coogler, STRUCTURED MEDIATION IN DIVORCE SETTLEMENT: A HANDBOOK FOR MARITAL MEDIATORS (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1978) and J.M. Haynes, DIVORCE MEDIATION: A PRACTICAL GUIDE FOR THERAPISTS AND COUNSELORS (NY: Springer, 1981).

10. See John W. Burton, DEVIANCE, TERRORISM, AND WAR (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979).

11. See Justin A. Stanley, "Minor Dispute Resolution," AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION JOURNAL, 68 (January 1982), pp. 61-65.

12. See James Laue, "Emergence and Institutionalization of Third Party Roles in Conflict". Presented at George Mason University as part of the Pro-seminar in Conflict and Conflict Resolution, 2 February 1982. To be included in a volume growing out of the Pro-seminar, edited by Henry Barringer and Dennis Sandole.

13. See Bryant Wedge, "National Peace Academy: One Citizen's View," in TODAY IN PSYCHIATRY (Abbott Laboratories Medical Newsletter), 3.6 (June 1977).

14. See Bryant Wedge, "On Developing a National Peace Academy," testimony presented to the US Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Washington, DC, 22 July 1980.

15. For a provocative discussion in this regard, see Thomas S. Kuhn, THE STRUCTURE OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONS, 2d Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

16. See Gordon Bermant, Herbert ~~G~~ C. Kelman, and Donald P. Warwick (Eds.), THE ETHICS OF SOCIAL INTERVENTION (NY: Wiley, 1978), op cit.

17. See, for instance, A.L. Bandura, AGGRESSION: A SOCIAL LEARNING ANALYSIS (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973); G. Blainey, THE CAUSES OF WAR (London: Macmillan, 1973); K.E. Boulding, CONFLICT AND DEFENSE: A GENERAL THEORY (NY: Harper & Row, 1962); J. Dollard, et al., FRUSTRATION AND AGGRESSION (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939); Ted Robert Gurr, WHY MEN REBEL (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970); C. Johnson, REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966); K. Lorenz, ON AGGRESSION (NY: Bantam Books, 1967); H.J. Morgenthau, POLITICS AMONG NATIONS, 5th Edition (NY: Knopf, 1973); and K.N. Waltz, MAN, THE STATE, AND WAR (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1959).

18. See, for instance, M. Banks, RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT: A MANUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK (London: Frances Pinter, 1982/forthcoming); J.W. Burton, 1979, op cit.; M. Deutsch, THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT: CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE PROCESSES (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); R. Fisher and W. Ury, GETTING TO YES: NEGOTIATING AGREEMENT WITHOUT GIVING IN (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981); Dean G. Pruitt, NEGOTIATION BEHAVIOR (NY and London: Academic Press, 1981); C.R. Mitchell, THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT (London: Macmillan, 1981); and C.R. Mitchell, PEACEMAKING AND THE CONSULTANT'S ROLE (Westmead, Farnborough, Hampshire: Gower/NY: Nichols, 1981).

19. See Edward T. Hall, THE SILENT LANGUAGE (NY: Anchor Books, 1959, 1973).

20. See W.D. Coplin, SIMULATION IN THE STUDY OF POLITICS (Chicago: Markham, 1968); J.R. Raser, SIMULATION AND SOCIETY: AN EXPLORATION OF SCIENTIFIC GAMING (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1969); and P.G. Zimbardo, et al., INFLUENCING ATTITUDES AND CHANGING BEHAVIOR (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1977).

21. See Bryant Wedge, "Training for Leadership in Cross-Cultural Dialogue," in D. Hoopes (Ed.), READINGS IN ~~[illegible]~~ INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1971).

22. The address of the Special Committee on Resolution of Minor Disputes of the American Bar Association is: 1800 M Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Addendum to testimony by Bryant Wedge

April 21, 1982

CONTRIBUTION TO RESOLVING THE FALKLAND ISLAND DISPUTE

On April 7, 1982 a column by Judy Mann appeared in the "Washington Post" suggesting that it would be useful if the President "could have announced that the United States was making available a cadre of the best mediators in the world to help Britain and Argentina reach a peaceful solution." I wish to suggest that although the peace academy does not yet exist, Judy Mann's point should not be lost and that her suggestion is practical and helpful.

Responsive to this same thought, Mr. Eric Cox, of this city, took a personal initiative in suggesting that Professor Roger Fisher, of the Harvard Negotiation Project, and I at the Center for Conflict Resolution at George Mason University, form an association to offer privately based mediative services to the disputants. Mr. Cox also began raising private funds to support this activity and we have advised the State Department work group and representatives of Great Britain and Argentina of our availability if they should wish such assistance.

Almost simultaneously the distinguished Dr. John Burton of the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict in Canterbury, England, and formerly the permanent Head of the Australian Foreign Office, called me to suggest that in his analysis the principal parties to the dispute were the Falkland Islanders and the government of

Argentina, while Great Britain, the United States, and possibly other powers were being drawn in. He offered to bring several associates from Great Britain to work with some of his American colleagues, including Professor Herbert Kelman of Harvard and Chadwick Alger of Ohio State University, together in Washington to provide a highly tested forum to which would be invited three members of the governing council of the Falklands and three responsible Argentine officials in a problem-solving framework. I have also conveyed this offer to the partias involved.

Whether or not such services are called upon in this particular dispute, the events permit a comment on the relation between diplomacy and impartial peacemaking or "honest brokerage" among disputing parties.

Official mediation is almost a contradiction in terms in that the article of faith of the emerging peacemaker is that the function of mediation should be to facilitate parties in analyzing their own interests and arriving at their own solutions between themselves. When an official, particularly a high official, offers mediative services, he is faced with two inherent limitations. First, by mandate, he cannot be impartial, as his primary function is to represent the interests of his sovereign. Second, because of the official's power, it is almost inevitable that any proposal will be seen as containing an element of coercion. These characteri~~zations~~stics sometimes cause disputants to lock in to their conflict rather than to examine alternative solutions.

What I have said cannot detract in any way from the magnificant and successful efforts of Secretary of State Haig in pursuing interim arrangements. Rather, the function of the modern conflict manager is supplementary to diplomatic management of relations among states. I believe that had the peace academy been established, the Secretary of State would himself have recommended what Judy Mann has suggested, that is that capable mediators, possibly including some from other countries, could be made available to help Britain, Argentina and the Falkland Islanders to arrive at a peaceful resolution. I believe that a very fruitful partnership will evolve between the profoundly expert practitioners of trad~~ing~~itional diplomacy and the newly emerging disciplines of conflict resolution.

I hope it will be appreciated that those of us interested in these emerging approaches have avoided any public comment that might intrude into a most delicate and dangerous circumstance, and that if I come forward now with these tentative suggestions, it is because the diplomatic process has contained the immediate danger. It would be contrary to our ethical code or professional analysis to press for any role in such matters, but we do have the duty to make the availability of this new kind of resource known and to ask for consideration of the propositions on which it is based. I consider it an honor to present these considerations to the distinguished members of this Committee whose function is to support emerging healthy developments in education and our understanding of how the world is and what it may become.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you, Dr. Wedge.

Normally we would have the panel testify and then questions would follow. But we have limitation of use of this room up to 1 o'clock. We have to surrender it. It is now a minute and a half after one.

However, you may expect questions from the members of the subcommittee if they wish to question you after they have received your testimony. As you know, all of your testimony will appear in the official records of the hearing. So that the fact that the most junior member of the committee is the only one listening to you should not discourage you in any way; that your testimony will be read by members of the full committee, as a matter of fact, before the bill is reported out. And the fact that you have come in strength today I think contributes materially toward the setting of the markup session for May 12. This is the first occasion wherein the chairman announced a markup date on the hearing date. Believe you me, I have been on the Hill 20 years. This has never happened before.

So I think you who have taken the time to come before this subcommittee deserve a lot of credit. You have shown that there is definite support for S. 1889. I thank you very much.

We will recess until the hour of 2 o'clock at which time we will meet in room 410 of the Russell Senate Office Building. It is the older building. At which time we will have panel No. 2 appear before us, consisting of Dr. Elise Boulding, Mr. Colosi, Mr. Freitag, Mr. Mapes, and Mrs. Miller. Then followed by panel No. 3, Mrs. Purcell, Mr. Cousins, Dr. Andrews, Dr. Cloud, and Reverend Barton.

Are are hoping that other members of the subommittee will be there. But the normal things is that, as in my case, I have three other places to be, but my interest is primarily with S. 1889, so you can bet that I will be there.

Thank you very much.

The committee stands in recess.

[Applause.]

[Whereupon, at 1:05 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.]

[Whereupon, at 2:21 p.m., the subcommittee reconvened in room 410, Russell Senate Office Building.]

Senator **Matsunaga**. The subcommittee will come to order. That means I am calling myself to order. I am sorry about the delay. Another member has indicated he would be here but evidently something held him back. I was at the Senate restaurant, and I thought why are people making a surge to shake my hand? I turned around and they were all heading for Charlton Heston.

We will begin this afternoon with panel No. 2, consisting of Dr. Elise Boulding and Mr. Thomas Colosi—oh, he is not here—Mr. Bernie Freitag, Mr. Milton (Mike) Mapes, and Mrs. Roberta Miller.

OK. So we will begin with the Chair, department of sociology, Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, a member of the Commission, and certainly an invaluable member who kept the Commission on keel many a time and who graced the paradise of the Pacific with her presence during the hearing in Honolulu.

Dr. **Boulding**.

STATEMENTS OF DR. ELISE BOULDING, CHAIR, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, N.H.; BERNIE FREITAG, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.; MILTON (MIKE) C. MAPES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY CAMPAIGN, WASHINGTON, D.C.; AND DR. ROBERTA BALSTAD MILLER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CONSORTIUM OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATIONS, WASHINGTON, D.C., A PANEL

Dr. BOULDING. Thank you, Senator Matsunaga. It is a real pleasure to come and testify to the urgency, relevance and top priority status of the National Academy of Peace.

I am glad to add my voice to others which essentially are saying that the maintenance of peace and security for the United States in a peaceful and secure way is a political and social problem and needs political and social solutions. And the National Peace Academy, as it has been visualized and described, is very important for that political and social problem solving. The role of the military in that type of problem solving is rather limited, and military preparedness alone increases our insecurity because each of our security enhancers in the military sense becomes our adversaries' security destroyer. And the Peace Academy can deal with the problem of putting the security of nation states in a different frame.

We have, in fact, parted from the traditional use of the military, I would say, over the last few decades in this country. The military has always been used as an instrument of last resort in international conflict, but we have become increasingly enamored with our sheer delight in the interesting and incredible types of military technologies and have let that distract us from the last resort role and have allowed military solutions to appear to be a first resort role.

What we are now doing, as I see it at this moment, in what Barbara Tuchman calls the "Terrible 20th Century", is that we have reached a point where we can write off the battles and start bringing in once again the social and political and sociopsychological expertise to create a type of defense, a type of security, which actually will save the lives of the children, the men and the women of our country and the world now that we have incredible resources in the United States.

My fellow witnesses have spoken to those resources, each from their own setting. My own 40 years of watching the developments of the research skills and the training skills in the conflict resolution and peace research area makes me very confident of this type of approach, this technology, if you will, of peacemaking which has developed very quietly in parallel with the technology of military defense. We have now, as you have heard people testify from peace studies' programs on college campuses, and you will hear from those associated with professional arbitration and mediation associations, all of this put together in a country which has an extraordinarily highly educated population and extraordinary knowledge at our fingertips as a Nation. In addition to the kinds of people that we produce in our country, the kinds of research and process skills that we have and the kinds of traditions that we have in the United States, we also have the traditions of negotiation, the traditions of fair play, the traditions of making good bargains. I believe that now is the right time to put all these together in a National Peace Academy and to acknowledge what we have that has been a less visible part of our heritage, a less visible part of our culture.

I think we are ready for the United States as a Nation to move to accept the position of respect and dignity in the world community that is based on those other competences, and not only on military competence. And I would suggest, for example, that we have countries in Europe who have made a shift from a major military to a problem solving and peaceful resolution stand. Sweden is a country that is widely respected and has made major resource allocation into conflict resolution. Tiny little Finland, right at the edge of the front line, you might say, of major East-West conflicts, is a tiny country, which has developed extraordinary skills of mediation and communication in lieu of military weaponry. So this second front of technology, the conflict resolution technology as contrasted to the military defense technology, is becoming a visible, viable presence in the international community and one that commands respect. And Japan, after being forcibly disarmed, having a peace constitution, has gained respect because it has developed the skills of conflict resolution, both in Asia itself and in the international community as a whole. Costa Rica has chosen to take the leadership in being a country without a national defense force and to be the home of a university which will be very important for basic understanding of the possibilities of peaceful conflict resolution in the international community, as our Peace Academy in the United States can be in the United States and in the world.

So what we have now is a growing sense of a new way of gaining respect and status and a leadership role, of a new basis for leadership in the international community. And this is one that is a rightful role for the United States and one that we should acknowledge with our resources allocated for maximum effectiveness.

The military academies have curriculums that are way overburdened and cannot possibly add all of the new kinds of skills, analysis skills, process skills of behavioral training and the like—they cannot possibly do it, as their superintendents told the Peace Academy Commission. We need this visible concentration and we need it as a Federal venture that can draw on all the resources of the research and training and education institutions in our country.

So I welcome the chance to say that the moment is really ripe, the resources are there, and we in the United States are ready, too, I think, to assume a new role in the international community.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Boulding follows:]

Testimony on a U.S. National Peace Academy

Elise Boulding
Sociology Department, Dartmouth College

It is the business of Congress to set policy priorities for the nation, based on its best understandings of the interests of the peoples of the U.S. It is clearly the view of a very large number of Americans, of all ages and walks of life that the maintenance of peace in the face of a potentially catastrophic nuclear arms race must be the top priority of our nation today.

Military force has traditionally been the back-up system for any state when its international diplomatic and problem-solving skills failed in a situation of grave conflict of interest. Military force has been seen as the last resort, never the first. Now, in 1982, our nation ought to be in a better position to exercise diplomatic and problemsolving skills in the international community than ever before, because we have resources available that were never available before in history. We have an educated citizenry, and provision for continuing lifelong retraining as new skills are needed. We have life-enhancing technologies to meet all human needs, and the mechanisms for creating access to them. Most valuable of all, we have a significant accumulation of social knowledge about the world in all its economic, political, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and an unparalleled access to new knowledge even as it is being generated, in many parts of the world. We also have a tradition of fairness, of which we are justly proud, and almost legendary skills of bargaining and mediation.

All these resources and skills are being rendered useless because of a relatively recent fascination with military technology. It is understandable that our own technological capabilities should fascinate us. Tinkering is always fun, and our society loves new models of almost anything. We have gotten caught unawares by this fascination, to the point where many of the top graduates of our best engineering schools go directly into one particular type of technology: weapons design. Thus few resources are left for the systematic organization of all our problemsolving knowledge for the purpose of keeping the peace between ourselves and those we view as our competitors.

As a result we have been relying for our security on a capital-intensive military defense system which has no strategy at its disposal except confrontation diplomacy and the threat of using a mutually destroying weapons complex. A labor-intensive security system by contrast would consist of conflict resolution and peace maintenance strategies utilizing vast numbers of mediation and problem-solving teams in crisis settings, focussed on the multiplication, not the reduction, of action possibilities. The deployment of such teams would leave adversaries less hostile and more capable of meeting the needs of their own societies without having diminished the need-meeting capability of our own nation.

The most precious resource in the U.S. is its human beings, whether they be soldiers, the President of our country, members of Congress, miners, teachers, scientists, children, or parents. Since there is no military technology that can now or in the future secure the lives and safety of these human beings, we must move as speedily as possible to the development of a new peace-maintenance capability. This means the establishment of a National Peace Academy, and making it operational before accidental or intentional warfare breaks out.

Such an Academy could begin at once, in a matter of weeks if we so desired, to train sizeable groups of people in critical sectors in the armed services, in the diplomatic service, in relevant government departments, and in the private sector, to begin to utilize all the unused conflict resolution knowledge and skill we have available in this country. The availability of scholars, teachers and practitioners to help make the Academy operational has been amply documented in the report of the Commission on Proposals to Establish a National Peace Academy.

We have striking examples in the twentieth century of nations that have made use of conflict resolution skills in the face of nearby deployment of great military force. In Europe we can point to Sweden, an aggressive military power in the seventeenth century but today one of the worlds leading peacemaking countries and home of that important world Center, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. There is also its neighbor Finland, which has maintained a powerful independent mediating role between Eastern and Western Europe on the basis of conflict resolution skill alone ever since the 1950's, in spite of grave territorial threats.

Two other important examples of the deliberate choice to develop diplomacy and problem-solving skills as an alternate means to national security are found respectively in Asia and Central

America. Japan, whose Peace Constitution abjures the use of force in the settlement of disputes with other nations, has to date consistently preferred to emphasize mediation skills and keep its military force at a minimum, in spite of continual pressures from the U.S. to increase its arms levels. Costa Rica, witnessing the use of military force to deal with social turbulence in its neighbor-states, has reaffirmed its own commitment to maintaining security without a standing army by investing its resources in the world's first University of Peace. This University has just held its inaugural ceremonies in San Jose with the blessings and support of the United Nations General Assembly, and will train students from all countries in the skills of nonmilitary conflict resolution.

Mediation, conflict resolution and the peaceful settlement of disputes are highly labor-intensive skills which exist in small pieces here and there in the U.S. in different federal and private institutions, including to a degree the military academies and the schools of diplomacy. However, they exist in such fragmented form that the critical mass needed to give our nation new international peaceful settlement capabilities is totally lacking. Only a federal Peace Academy can draw together the strengths available to make them usable for national needs.

I have emphasized training because that is our primary need at the moment. However, research on longrun trends and emerging alternatives in the international system that will enable the U.S. to contribute leadership in developing more effective mechanisms of international cooperation in the face of persisting conflicts of interest are another important function the Academy can play. Furthermore, as a member of the Commission that reported to Congress on the feasability of a National Peace Academy I am aware of the widespread interest among institutions of higher learning in developing campus units of a National Peace Academy for on-campus research and training. This would greatly multiply the effectiveness of a National Academy and create new regional capabilities for conflict resolution. I am also aware of an equally widespread interest on the part of local communities in developing local conflict resolution resources through the good offices of a national clearing house that might be operated by the National Peace Academy.

The people of this country see a connection between the use of mediation and peace-making skills in their homes and communities, and in our nation and the world. Our citizenry is suffering because local, as well as international violence is on the increase. The skills to reduce violence exist, but the initiation of peace processes in the midst of conflict is difficult and demanding work. This country needs a strong federal institution committed to the development of skilled peace practitioners if we are to have a viable alternative to the increasing use of force in our time to deal with major human problems. The resources and mechanisms for establishing a National Peace Academy are available to this Congress, and I urge that positive action be taken very soon.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you very much, Dr. Boulding.

We will now hear from Mr. Bernie Frietag, vice president, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

Mr. **Freitag**. I am vice president of the National Education Association. I am very pleased to be here today, on behalf of the 1.7 million education employees throughout the Nation who are NEA members, to express strong support for S. 1889 to establish the U.S. Academy of Peace. As educators whose charges, our students, are literally the hope and the resource of America's future, we feel with a special poignancy the responsibility to help assure the survival of our charges' world.

If I may be permitted a personal aside to embellish on that. In the high school I have been teaching in since 1961, there is a lobby where the photos of 51 young men are displayed who gave their lives in the Vietnam conflict. I taught about everyone of those young men. Each one of them was a person of great vitality and talent. I think this is repeated around the country, and we teachers are aware of one of the most bitter prices we pay when we seek to resolve conflicts with war.

That is why our representative assembly, the organization's highest policymaking body, first adopted a Resolution on World Peace in 1973, under which we testified in 1978 in favor of the establishment of the Commission which recommended the legislation we endorse today. Delegates to last year's representative assembly refined and reaffirmed that earlier resolution and included language specifically supporting the U.S. Academy of Peace. A copy of the current resolution is attached to this statement. I want to thank you, Senator Matsunaga, for meeting earlier in March with the committee to brief them on the pending legislation.

[The information referred to follows:]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

H-8. World Peace

The National Education Association recognizes the interdependence of all peoples and urges that the United States make every effort to strengthen the United Nations to make it a more effective instrument for world peace.

The Association supports the 1948 United Nations resolution relating to genocide and promotes the rights of all people by exposing the horrors of war, racism, and genocide.

The Association urges its affiliates and members to implement its commitment to world peace founded on genuine respect for and understanding of individual and cultural diversity, and to develop programs, including the study of additional languages, which promote the ideals of peace, freedom, and human dignity.

In addition, the Association supports the concept of a U.S. Academy of Peace. The Academy would provide programs, training, and research data in developing peacemaking and conflict resolution skills, and would conduct and provide for the publication and dissemination of information in this field.

The Association believes the methods of peace are superior to the methods of war and, in this nuclear age, may be basic to the survival of civilization.

The Association urges that the nations of the world, through cooperative talks, develop treaties and disarmament agreements that reduce the danger of nuclear war and free resources for important domestic problems. (73, 81)

Mr. Freitag. There is no need for me to lecture as to the delicate fragility of that survival in a world of frightening nuclear capabilities and a plethora of ideological, cultural, and linguistic misunderstandings—or worse. We all know the potential for mass mutual destruction which abounds in our world. The daily newspapers are depressing in the information they bring us which points out the ultimate vulnerability of the human race.

We need only look at the situation today in the South Atlantic, which has our oldest and closest ally engaged in a serious dispute with a newer ally. An editorial in the Washington Post last week illustrated the need for just the kind of training which would be available through the Peace Academy. The editorial cites the insufficiencies of the conflict resolution mechanisms of the United States. It commends Secretary Haig's efforts to negotiate a compromise which saves the face—and the existence—of the two Governments.

[The article referred to follows:]

A16 TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1982

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Peacemaking

IN A PERFECT world, the United Nations would have snapped into action in the dispute between Britain and Argentina: a seemingly perfect case—slow-moving, legalistic, involving two reasonably friendly countries at a safe geographical remove—for international mediation. There was, however, no international machinery ready, and the United States, the country best placed to command a respectful hearing in both Buenos Aires and London, has filled the breach. There will be no small cost if the secretary of state's shuttle fails. To let two friendly states drift toward confrontation, however, would have been a disservice to them and to American interests alike.

Two friendly states: the president has been criticized for declaring, "We're friends of both sides," as though he saw no difference between the democratic ways and, in this dispute, Britain's status as victim and Argentina's authoritarian ways and its status as violator. But he simply reflected the truth that Washington is in a position to mediate. Was it, then, necessary for his ambassador to the United Nations to attend an Argentine Embassy dinner in her honor on the very night of the invasion? Of course not.

The purpose of Mr. Haig's shuttle is to bring about a peaceful solution of a dispute provoked by what the administration calls, not aggression, but "an armed military action of which we disapproved." He will presumably be trying to do this in a manner respecting two principles, both violated by Argentina: 1) territory is not to be acquired by force; 2) the wishes of people living on that territory cannot be ignored.

Behind the diplomatic problem is a political problem. In a real sense, Mr. Haig's mission has made him the custodian of two governments, Prime Minister Thatcher's and President Galtieri's. How can they both survive a settlement? Yet Mr. Haig can hardly appeal for the cooperation of either if it believes that the price will be its fall from power. There is something galling here, for Mrs. Thatcher's government, being elected, is unquestionably better. President Galtieri's represents a military establishment which, partly to work off the curse of its appalling human rights record, has been cultivating the administration by backing its policy in Central America—and, implicitly, by threatening to collapse and usher in a leftist-Peronist horror.

There is a purpose, however, to working with governments as they are. In this case, it is to resolve a nasty dispute that threatens to get badly out of hand. That is where Mr. Haig's focus must be.

Mr. **Freitag.** We sincerely hope for the success of Secretary Haig's mission. However, one cannot but be struck by the irony that the chief negotiator, who reflects the education available in our country, is a military man trained in confrontation, not conciliation. Training in the skills and techniques of conflict might have shortcircuited the problem or aided an early solution. Such training would be provided under the aegis of the proposed Peace Academy.

As an organization we are experienced in the value of negotiations. Many members of this subcommittee are aware that one of the major legislative goals of the NEA is the provision to public education employees of the same type of collective bargaining that has been available to our colleagues in the private sector for 45 years. Collective bargaining is, to oversimplify, merely a process of negotiating to resolve conflicts. It works with commendable efficacy, as is evident from any study of the organized labor movement in this century. And it is incontrovertible that the incidence of labor-dispute-related violence hs been dramatically reduced by the provision of this mechanism for avoiding it.

Can we not learn from experience? If provision of a mechanism, and the cadre of trained bargainers, mediators, and arbitrators that has developed over those 45 years or more, have so greatly smoothed labor-management relations and served to cool the emotions that run high, surely such a model could be adapted for the purpose of peacemaking or peacekeeping. At the very least, it must be tried. The costs of establishing the Academy and of operating it are minimal in these days when talk is generally of trillions or billions, not millions. The costs of not seeking some means to preserve humanity are beyond contemplation.

Peace and reduction or prevention of violence are fundamental and moral goals of our Nation. This modest bill, S. 1889, takes a giant stride toward achieving that goal. The U.S. Academy of Peace must be created. No arguments about governmental costs or burgeoning bureaucracy can be brooked. Nor can there be any rational disagreement over the Federal Government's legitimacy as the sponsor of the Peace Academy. The Federal Government's responsibility for national security is indisputable, and nothing is more conducive to national security than the waging of peace. Likewise, the responsibility of the Congress is to establish good public policy, and nothing could be more in the public interest than the waging of peace.

The immediate establishment of the Academy of Peace is the moral thing to do. It is perhaps the brightest hope for our children and their children and grandchildren. We urge the Congress to establish the Peace Academy, and I pledge the full cooperation of the National Education Association in that effort.

Thank you.

Senator **Matsunaga.** Thank you very much, Mr. Freitag.

I am grateful for the fact that the National Education Association was one of the first organizations, if not the first, to endorse S. 1889, and I think you have paved the way for other national organizations to come forward. And I thank you very much for that.

Mr. **Freitag.** Thank you, Senator.

Senator MATSUNAGA. We will now hear from the executive director of the National Peace Academy Campaign headquartered in Washington, Mr. Milton "Mike" Mapes, whose personal effort has been indefatigable and whose help and cooperation was a tremendous boost to the Commission.

Mr. Mapes.

Mr. MAPES. Thank you, Senator. We also thank the committee for this hearing today.

I have submitted a formal prepared statement for the record with three attachments, and I would like to ask that they be included in the printed record of this hearing.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Without objection, so ordered.

As a matter of fact, all prepared statements will be inserted in the record.

Mr. MAPES. The National Peace Academy Campaign was founded 5½ years ago, almost 6 years ago now, and up until a year ago January had achieved a membership of about 3,000 members. Since that time, January 1981, our membership has shot up almost vertically to nearly 30,000 members today, and that I think this is a sign of our times. And it is still rising rapidly.

I want to speak briefly to the urgency, the symbolism, the practicality and the cost-effectiveness of the Peace Academy. As I sat there this morning and listened to the witnesses, I had the feeling they were saying everything that I could have ever thought to say. I do not think I ever sat through a better hearing in my entire life but it left me at this end of the line feeling a bit empty of additional ideas to add—but gratefully so.

Senator Randolph, Senator Hatfield, and Senator Matsunaga, Senator Jepsen, and Senator Pell all spoke of the urgency of the Peace Academy. I think Mr. Kennedy made the point well when he said we need a general attitudinal change. Well, that is what the Peace Academy, of course, is all about. To change the way that our society deals with conflicts—to change from win/lose to win/win solutions, from the eyeball-to-eyeball approach to conflict to a rational search for problem-solving solutions. Conflict is not necessarily a zero-sum game, not necessarily a super bowl with a winner and loser. A conflict need not be a zero-sum game—we can achieve positive—sum solutions. We can have win/win solutions where everyone achieves a large part of what he or she seeks. The long-term effect of this kind of approach to conflict is to lower the levels of conflict and violence all across our society and eventually all across the world. This is not just possible at this time in history—it is absolutely essential.

The symbolism of the Peace Academy, the worldwide symbolism would not be missed. Jerry Elmer commented on it—the establishment of the Peace Academy would be directly seen as a statement of intent by history's most powerful nation to devote at least a part of its resources to a long-term search for the ways and means of peace and active peacemaking.

I can only say this would have a tremendous impact on the U.S. image as seen from abroad. We have been told this by many—by dozens of visitors from abroad. Some from South America have said, "You mean the United States might establish a Peace Academy? Why they would never believe it south of Mexico, but if you did it, nothing you could do would be better for your image south of the border." It is simply a fabulous opportunity for the United States to exercise world leadership.

The practicality of the Peace Academy has been spoken to in detail. The effective training of our citizenship from all walks of life for permanent peacemaking and non-violent conflict management, as well as training selected foreign students from overseas, would eventually have a tremendous cumulative effect toward creating a more stable world society at every level.

As for the cost-effectiveness of the Peace Academy, as stated by Senator Jepsen and Senator Pell, if it should help prevent just one small war, it would pay for itself many times over. Probably the most cost-effective program for our world today is the Peace Academy and all it represents. Conflict is the most costly element in our society today—you only have to look at the military appropriations bill today. Look at our court system, overloaded, and years behind in the scheduling of cases. Look at our social welfare organizations. To all of these, an organization for training in conflict management would make a tremendous contribution. For a few million dollars we can establish a permanent institution which would lower the levels of conflict all across our society—what a cost-effective investment that would be. We only need to look today at what is happening in the Sinai where Israel and Egypt are entering the last phase of one of history's really outstanding examples of conflict resolution, which occurred at Camp David. Think what has been saved by the ending of the hostilities just between those two countries for the price of a short 13-day negotiation at Camp David.

I would like to speak to one other thing, especially about the bill and the Peace Academy and the role of the Federal Government. The issue has been raised—is this a proper area for the Federal Government to get into? Well, I think the role of the Federal Government in this area must be leadership. Senate bill S. 1889, in section 2(a)(6), states:

> There is a need for Federal leadership to expand and support the existing international peace and conflict resolution efforts of the Nation and to develop new comprehensive peace education and training programs.

I think that states it very well.

Our State and private institutions are not alone in preparing us for war and they should not be solely responsible for preparing us for peace. We have four military academies and five very excellent war colleges. But it makes no sense to limit the responsibility of the National Government in the field of peacemaking solely to diplomacy and the preparation for war. The untapped potential for progress through other means is just too great, and the cost of failure is too high.

We must adopt the two-track approach to foreign policy. We must reserve our military capability, at least for the present, as we strengthen our peacemaking capability.

I always enjoy quoting a Senator to his face, and it was you, Senator Matsunaga, as Chairman of the Commission, who said it as well as anyone has said it: "Without the focus and stimulation that only the Federal Government can supply, it is unlikely that the promise from refinement and broad participation in peace knowledge and skill will be realized. Unless the Federal Government exercise its leadership in this area, peace will not flourish fully, despite its profound basis for our Nation's heritage."

One other thing I would like to add, and it involves the necessity for some redefinition of our basic terminology. National security is what we all seek. We have been seeking it in this country since the formation of the Republic. But the time has come to redefine national security to conform to the realities of the nuclear age. For 200 years, National Security meant the ability to defend ourselves if attacked or when attacked. Suddenly, with the nuclear age—and it happened 35 years ago, so it is time we were adjusting to it—our experts that we have trained, the best military people that we have been able to develop, now tell us no defense is possible. If nuclear war descends upon us, there is nothing that they can do to defend the Nation. All of a sudden, national security no longer means defense. It means only one thing: It means peace and the ability to maintain it, and if that is not cause enough for the Federal Government to get into this field at this stage of the game, I do not know what it takes.

For 2,000 years, we have been searching for peace and we have been going on that false assumption which was mentioned earlier today, the old Roman wisdom: "Si pacem vis, bellum para—If you wish for peace, prepare for war."

For 2,000 years, we have been wishing for peace and preparing for war and, by some strange coincidence 'we keep on getting war. Well, in the long run, a nation almost inevitably gets what it prepares for. If we are going to have peace, we had better start preparing for it, and that is the precise purpose of the U.S. Academy of Peace.

Thank you, Senator.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mapes follows:]

PEACE IS OUR PROFESSION

An Address by Milton C. Mapes, Jr.
Executive Director
National Peace Academy Campaign
at
All Souls Church
Washington, D.C.

February 28, 1982

Many of you will recognize that the title of this address is borrowed from the Motto of the Strategic Air Command:
"PEACE IS OUR PROFESSION"
I chose that because of its implications for all of us:

To the Air Force, it states what they deem their purpose in life to be -- and although I see no way to defend our 4,000 per cent overkill capacity, or our continuing production of three additional nuclear warheads each day, I think we must accept that deterrence as a concept still carries some measure of validity.

To my more idealistic friends in the peace movement who believe the proper alternative is complete and unilateral disarmament, I am sometimes moved to comment that it is still a nasty world out there-- and would they really want to run New York City without a police force?

But in a wider sense, peace is a part of the life calling -- the profession if you will -- of all of us who profess to be followers, believers or merely involved in the Judaeo-Christian ethical tradition and the humanism which is part of its finest flowering.

And the final sense in which this title is significant is the need which it expresses; one of the great ladies of the Peace Academy Campaign and one of its earliest founders and strongest supporters is Mary Liebman, of McHenry, Illinois, who wrapped it all up for me years ago when she wrote:
"PEACE IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS -- LET'S MAKE IT SOMEBODY'S JOB!"
We NEED a new profession whose job is active, dynamic peacemaking at all levels of society, and we can now provide it -- and that is what the Peace Academy is all about!

My overall topic today is PEACE and how to obtain it, but it's no simple subject. Well, of course if it were, we might have done better in achieving it in the past. But first you have to define it, and for the purposes of talking about the Peace Academy, I usually use the definition of Kenneth Boulding, former president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, who said that peace is not the absence of conflict--it's the non-violent management of conflict.

But it is so very complex -- perhaps the most complex human endeavor ever undertaken, and as I shall point out, one of humanity's longest undertakings. We often say that Peace is to war as chess is to checkers -- they're both played on the same board, but Peace is infinitely more complex than war.

THE GOOD NEWS -- I have good news for you today -- We are going to build a Peace Academy!

Unless I am very badly mistaken, the U.S. Congress is going going to pass legislation in 1982 to establish the United States Academy of Peace -- and some of you may be able to help!

-and if I know anything about Unitarians. They ALWAYS want to help!

WHY A PEACE ACADEMY?

Now to my first question: Should we build a Peace Academy and why?

There are basically two sets of reasons, one negative and one positive -- why we need a Peace Academy at the present stage of history, and it is perhaps a commentary on our times that the most obvious and desperate reasons are the negative ones, so I shall discuss them first. I think you know what they are.

Certainly the Medical Profession has become acutely aware of these reasons, partly because of the superb work being done by Dr. Helen Caldicott in organizing the Physicians for Social Responsibility. The doctors in this organization -- and they are already many thousands strong and growing at a rate of about 250 per week, I understand -- have done a remarkable and yet fairly simple thing:

1. They have faced what a nuclear war would mean, from the point of view of their own profession;
2. They have analyzed the problem -- diagnosed the disease, if you will;
3. The have concluded there is no possibility of treating the disease if it strikes; and
4. They have concluded they have no choice but to commit themselves to preventing the disease, and eventually to wiping it out as they have wiped out small pox.

Other perceptive thinkers, like George F. Kennan, have similarly analyzed the problems associated with modern warfare and concluded that the great powers are on a collision course with no alternative to a fundamental and sweeping departure from it, Kennan writes:

> "It will also be argued that there would be risks involved. Possibly so. I do not see them...but if there are, so what? Is it possible to conceive of any dangers greater than those which lie at the end of the collision course on which we are now embarked?"

Of course these are the most perilous times in human history! We face the real threat -- some say the likelihood -- of total human annihilation and complete destruction of our civilization. In the words of Martin Luther King, "We must either learn to live together as brothers or we are going to perish together as fools!"

But that is not only the view of our great men of peace -- it is shared by many of our greatest military leaders. It was General Douglas MacArthur, hardly a parlor liberal, who spelled it out for all time on the deck of the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay, Sept. 2, 1945, when he said.

> "Military alliances, balances of power, leagues of nations--all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war.

> The utter destructiveness of war now blocks out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we do not devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door."

"Some greater and more equitable system"--It's a thought-provoking phrase in its implications. Professor Boulding's definition of Peace as the nonviolent management of conflict points the way, because it accepts the reality of the continued existence of conflict throughout human society. We must learn to deal with that reality and to date we have hardly begun to do so.

Yet we must. Professor John Burton of the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict in Great Britain believes that every international conflict is rooted in the internal conflicts within the nations involved. If he is correct, world peace and racial survival may well depend upon how rapidly and effectively we can teach the proper management and resolution of conflict at all levels of society--and we shall be making a mistake if we focus solely on problems of international relations. Peace may well be one of those seamless webs enveloping every level of society--and its warp and woof may be threads of conflict management.

We are, to put it mildly, in a mess! Well, how did we get there?

I submit that we are facing here, as much as anything, a genuine crisis of science, and analyzing how we got here maywell point a way out.

The truth of it is that we have done a superb -- literally an awesome--job of applying science to the arts of destruction. Our new weapons systems are magnificent, superlative scientific achievements. But what have we done about applying the very real accomplishments of our social and behavioral scientists to the art of survival, to teaching us to live together on this shrinking globe in peace? The answer is: almost nothing, at least until the last decade or two, and too little by far even now! General Omar Bradley said it all in 1948, speaking in Boston, when he told us:

> "We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the sermon on the Mount. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we do about peace--more about killing than we know about living."

Can you imagine a more terrible indictment of any society? "We know more about killing than we know about living!"

And why is this? Well, you know why. Any urchin on the street could tell you why, and it's very simple:

YOU GET WHAT YOU PAY FOR! And since General Bradley made that statement we have invested over three trillion dollars (That is a "3", followed by twelve zeroes) in a vain search for security through military arms -- and spent almost nothing to develop a science of peace.

If ever in world history there was a need for new ideas, new institutions, new breakthroughs in the field of peacekeeping, and new systems of conflict management, surely, this is the time. Yet the last great institution we created to contribute to world peace was the United Nations -- and that was over a third of a centruy ago.

To restate my negative hypothesis, it is this: We have allowed a terrible gap to develop between the application of science to war and its application to the cause of Peace. This has occurred in part because we have created the institutions, the systems of war, to utilize unlimited amounts of money--but no equivalent channels to divert investment funds into the search for peace.

The solution lies in the analysis. How do we close that terrible gap? By creating institutions to direct resources into peace research and education. It is a truism that humankind creates its institutions and those institutions shape its society--and go on shaping it long after the creators have passed from the scene. We need institutions whose goal is Peace!

Father Divine, the great populist preacher of the 30's said it with characteristic simplicity: " The trouble with our world is we got too many metaphysicians who don't know how to tangibilitate!" If we want our grandchildren to have a chance of surviving to know their grandchildren, we've got to get about tangibilitating peace in the fastest and best ways possible.

And today it is possible. It's possible because our social and behavioral scientists from a dozen different disciplines have finally begun to apply their accumulated wisdom to the construction of a new field of learning -- almost a new social science -- of conflict resolution.

From the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, history and psychiatry have come theoretical constructs which, when combined with our seventy-five or more years of empirical experience in arbitration, mediation, negotiation and conciliation, have gone far toward creating a valid new social science field of conflict resolution. This promises to provide the basis for a solid curriculum of training and research which can make the Peace Academy the most constructive and cost-effective institution of our society in the 1st two decades of this perilous century.

Here I want to interject an answer to the question which many people have asked: "Conflict Resolution sounds great, but does it work?"

The answer is that if you have followed the news in recent years, you know it does.

- it worked during the Hanafi Muslim takeover here in Washington, where experts in conflict resolution got involved early and probably saved fifty hostages' lives;
- it worked at Wounded Knee, where expert intervention prevented the already violent FBI-Indian confrontation from developing into the last great Indian war in what could have been a real pitched battle;
- it worked at Camp David, where President Carter's use of advanced techniques of mediation led to the accords and eventually to the Treaty which everyone said couldn't be written - after all, the hostilities between Israel and Egypt went back 3,000 years;and
- it works in hundreds of community disputes handled annually by the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice, and in literally tens of thousands of individual disputes handled each year by the American Arbitration Association;

So much for the negative reasons for the peace Academy--what about the positive ones?

Here it is my thesis that it is enough to go with the flow of history, because we are intimately involved in the longest-running paradigm shift in history. In 1962 Thomas Kuhn described a paradigm as a framework for thinking about a problem, and I am referring to our framework of thought about conflict.

Kenneth Boulding, in his great little book Stable Peace, has written:

> "There is a long, painful, slow but very persistent historical movement from stable war into unstable war into unstable peace into stable peace. The main object of peace policy is to speed up the transition by deliberate decision."

The Peace Academy is, quite simply put, an institution designed to speed up that transition from stable war to stable peace by deliberate decision.

The paradigm shift to which I referred is the long-term context of history as it relates to the handling of conflict, and one can go back 5,000 or two million years in considering it.

It began with the age-old law of claw and fang, when, in the words of Langdon Smith:

> "We lived by blood and the right of might,
> Ere human laws were drawn;
> And the age of sin did not begin
> Till our brutal tusks were gone."

Ancient primitive societies institutionalized the blood-feud, and a scrupulous lex talionis, the law of retaliation, enforced by and among tribes and families.

The Code of Hammurabi in 1750 B.C. and the Mosaic Code made "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" into State Law, which continued until about 1950 years ago, when Jesus Christ produced the truly radical breakthrough--a total revolution in thinking about conflict. "No," he said, "Do not do unto others as they have done unto you, but as you would like them to do unto you."

Whether that was divine or human inspiration is moot for this discussion, but it is probable that the breakthrough was in part the product of the cross-cultural fertilization of East and West, the East of the Essenes and the West of the Roman Empire.

But Christianity went west--and we proceeded to apply some of history's most nonviolent teachings by force and violence, simply because that was the only way the cultures of Rome and Europe knew to achieve enforcement of an idea. Thus we had religious wars of unprecedented violence, history-bending crusades of bloodshed, and the crushing cruelty of the Inquisition--all in the name of Christ's teachings, with no serious awareness of the almost unbelievable incongruities involved. A greater incompatibility between the means and the ends history has seldom witnessed.

But the spread of empire brought continued crosscultural contact, and once again the East came to our rescue, and Mohandas Gandhi gently removed the British Empire from India by passive nonviolent resistance.

This provided the method, but it took the genius of Martin Luther King to take Gandhi's techniques and show us how to apply them so as to conform our methods to our goals--to achieve a nonviolent society by nonviolent means.

The Peace Academy is merely the next step in the flow of history as seen in this context, but it is a critical one, for it will commit history's most powerful nation to a long-term program of devoting at least some of its resources to research and training in the ways and means of peace; it is hardly coincidence that two of the early founders of the Peace Academy Campaign were James Laue and Andrew Young, who were Martin Luther King's representatives in the white and black community respectively whenever he was in jail.

WHAT WOULD THE PEACE ACADEMY BE AND DO?

The U.S. Peace Academy Commission, whose Final Report and Recommendations were handed to the President last October 20, has recommended that the Peace Academy, located somewhere in the vicinity of Washington, should have three basic functions:

Research; Education and Training; and Information Services,

RESEARCH - The United States Academy of Peace would perform and assist research about international peace and Peacemaking through research by its faculty, students and visiting scholars and residents at the Center for International Peace to be established at the Academy and through supporting grants and contracts for research at other institutions.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING - Education and training programs at the academy will be at the graduate and postgraduate levels; both short and long-term programs will be developed to educate and train persons from government, private enterprise and voluntary groups in peacemaking skills.

INFORMATION SERVICES - The purpose of the Academy's information services will be to spread the field of peace learning as rapidly as possible across our society, linking with the Nation's network of libraries and academic institutions.

In the long run, it is to be hoped that the Peace Academy will change the basic assumptions which our society has applied to conflict for 2,000 years. Since the Romans first said it, the most basic assumption every nation has applied in its policies is "Si pacem vis, bellum para"--"If you wish for peace, prepare for war!" For 2,000 years we have been wishing for peace and yet gone right on preparing for war, with almost slavish devotion to the most demonstrably false assumption of history. Our basic folklore has told us: "Don't listen to what he says, watch what he does!" Yet for 2,000 years we have said we wanted peace and done preparations for war--and we wonder why we keep on getting war!

Well, if we are ever going to have peace, we are going to have to start preparing for it, and now IS the time.

The other basic assumption, which we must change, is our definition of National Security, and here the Peace Academy would also help. Throughout our history National Security has meant the ability to defend ourselves if attacked, so we prepared and trained the best military men we could find--and now those same experts tell us no defense is possible in the event of nuclear attack.

Suddenly our four military academies and five war colleges are inadequate, because the old rules don't apply. If defense is impossible, then we must redefine National Security--and somehow the definition always comes down to Peace. Even banning nuclear weapons, however desirable that would be, is inadequate, because in five years' time our scientists are perfectly capable of developing six other ways to wipe out the human race. What we must ban is war itself.

The point is that war is no longer just anachronistic as a method of solving human problems - it is truly obsolete. There is no problem great enough to be solved by nuclear weapons.

The problem was stated best by the man who more than any other inaugurated it and understood it. Albert Einstein said,"With the splitting of the atom, everything is changed except our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."

Yes -- Everything -- EVERYTHING is changed, and unless we can adjust our thinking and adapt our society to those changes we shall not survive. Can we do it? I don't know, but I do know we must start somewhere, and the United States Academy of Peace is the best starting point I have yet heard of. It can combine the best efforts of science with our widespread educational system in a major attempt to turn the course of history away from the destruction which looms just ahead.

And now our final question: What can we do about it? How can we make the Peace Academy happen?

I've had people all across the country express their feeling of helplessness to turn the apparent tide of history: "What can I do-- I'm just one little person."

Yes--of course. Everybody is "just one little person." But we can be effective by combining our meager powers with those of a lot of other "one little persons" who also care. The National Peace Academy Campaign began five and a half years ago as a handful of persons who cared and who realized that there are many tides of history running parallel through our times, and that some of them offer great hope. By last January, a year ago, the Peace Academy Campaign had laboriously grown to 3,000 persons. It had also acquired the endorsement of almost every major church denomination in America, including, I am glad to be able to tell you, the Unitarian-Universalist Association.

But one of the major tides of history running stronger each day is the trend toward--yes, the urgent demand for--peace, and to those in a position to watch it closely, it is a source of great hope. Today the National Peace Academy Campaign--one year later--has grown to 25,000 members, and we expect that number to double by mid-summer.

Legislation was introduced in both Houses of Congress in November to establish the Peace Academy, and it now boasts almost 100 cosponsors in the House of Representatives, and 53 in the Senate--a majority of all the Senators. We expect hearings in both Houses this spring, and floor action--which we hope will be favorable--this summer. Only the support of the White House is needed to increase this legislation's chances of enactment to at least 90 per cent.

The Peace Academy is riding the historical tide of hope and faith in the future of humanity.

The United States Academy of Peace IS the wave of the future if there is to be a future for humankind.

I would be doing less than my duty to you and myself, to our descendants, and to our civilization if I did not invite you all to join with me in helping to build this great and good institution into the fabric of our society.

The History of the Peace Academy Idea

The idea of establishing a U.S. Academy of Peace can be traced as far back as 1792, when Drs. Benjamin Banneker and Benjamin Rush met in Philadelphia and discussed their disappointment with the lack of some sort of Peace Office in the new United States government. In the next year, Dr. Banneker would publish an essay in his ALMANACK titled "A Plan for a Peace Office for the United States." There is some question as to which of the two men actually authored the essay, but there is no doubt that both men deeply believed in its message. It read in part: "Among the defects which have been pointed out in the Federal Constitution by its antifederal enemies, it is much to be lamented that no person has taken notice of its total silence upon the subject of an office of the utmost importance to the welfare of the United States, that is, an office for promoting and preserving perpetual peace in our country." These two men, one a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the other often called the "first black man of science," were the first Americans to actively support and promote the creation of a proper peace establishment, an idea that has taken almost two hundred years to be realized.

In the 19th century various publicists and legislators put forth proposals for a Department of Peace, peace agency, or educational institution, although little progress was achieved. Since World War II, however, calls for alternative efforts to make and keep the peace have increased dramatically. What follows is a summary:

1935	Sen. Matthew Neely of W. Virginia presented a bill recommending a Department of Peace.
1943	Sen. Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin revived Neely's plan in the midst of World War II.
1945	Immediately following V-E day, Sen. Karl Mundt of N. Dakota addressed his colleagues in a proposal, "Needed: A Department of Peace." Also, Rep. Louis Ludlow of Indiana and Rep. (now Senator) Jennings Randolph of W. Virginia introduced legislation calling for the establishment of a Department of Peace.
1947	Rep. Everett Dirksen of Illinois introduced a bill for a "Peace Division in the State Department."
1955- 1968	Between the 84th Congress and the 90th Congress no less than 85 bills were introduced in the House or Senate to create a Department of Peace, including provisions for an education program.
1975	In June, Senators Hartke and Hatfield introduced in the Senate S. 1976 "to establish an educational institution in the United States...to further the understanding of the process and state of peace among nations and cooperation between peoples; to consider the dimensions of peaceful resolution of differences..."
1976	In May, hearings were held before the Education and Labor Committee of the Senate, chaired by Sen. Pell of Rhode Island. These were the first ever held in Congress on the concept of the Peace Academy. In July, the Higher Education Act of 1976 was amended in the Senate to include

a 12-month Peace Academy Commission Study. In August, the Senate receded on the Peace Academy provision in the Higher Education Act of 1976 in conference with the House after House conferees failed by one vote to approve the measure.

1977 Rep. Andrew Young and multiple co-sponsors introduced Peace Academy legislation in the House and Senators Hatfield, Matsunaga and Randolph introduced identical legislation in the Senate. After hearings in April on this bill, the Senate passed it in June.

1978 After hearings in January by Rep. Dante Fascell's House Subcommittee on International Operations, Both House and Senate in October approved a conference report on the Elementary and Secondary Education Bill including a provision authorizing establishment of the U.S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

1979 In October Congress appropriated $500,000 for the operating costs of the Peace Academy Commission, and in December, President Carter made the last three appointments to the Commission.

1980 The U.S. Peace Academy Commission of nine members conducted public hearings in 12 major cities around the country from Hawaii to Massachusetts and Florida, compiling a record of over 7,000 pages; in September the Commission submitted its Interim Report to President Carter and Congress recommending that the U.S. Academy of Peace be established.

1981 The Peace Academy Commission submitted its Final Report to President Reagan and Congress in October. Enabling legislation is introduced in November by Senators Spark Matsunaga (D-HI), Jennings Randolph (D-WV), and Mark Hatfield (R-OR)--along with 49 cosponsors--in the Senate, and by Rep. Dan Glickman (D-KS)--and 55 cosponsors--in the House.

1982 Cosponsorship of the House bill rises to 106 by April. Hearings are held in the Senate on April 21, in the House in May.

To Move the Whole Future

NOTE: This article is based on an address delivered by Milton C. Mapes, Jr., Campaign Coordinator for the National Peace Academy Campaign, at the Church of the Redeemer in New Haven, Connecticut, on Sunday, October 29, 1978. The text has been augmented by additional material, including comments from an address that same afternoon at the Yale Law School.

Over the past Christmas holidays, I had the opportunity to meet Mike Mapes and discuss with him the purposes and plans of the National Peace Academy Campaign. The following address, delivered with the rhetoric of advocacy, outlines the concept of such an academy within the contemporary context of world peace and human survival. While Mr. Mapes is an attorney and political scientist by training, his remarks have consequences for humanistic anthropology, especially when we consider the practical ideas and actions necessary to work toward building a better world for humankind.

On October 15, 1978, the U.S.Congress authorized creation of a Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution—a necessary first step toward the realization of a national center for training and research in the area of conflict resolution. Active supporters of this concept include such scholars and statesmen as Senator Julian Bond, Professor Kenneth Boulding, Buckminster Fuller, Senator Mark Hatfield, Mrs. Coretta King, Dr. Karl Menninger, Dr. Jonas Salk, and Ambassador Andrew Young. *--Bruce T. Grindal, Editor*

Milton C. Mapes
National Peace Academy Campaign

> "We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the Sermon on the Mount. . . . Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace, more about killing than we know about living."
>
> – General Omar Bradley, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; Boston, November 10, 1948.

In the preface to his recent book, *Stable Peace*, Kenneth Boulding, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, writes:

> "The problem of peace policy is seen not as how to achieve immediate and certain success but as how to introduce a bias into the system that moves it toward stable peace at a more rapid rate. Policy is social agriculture: just as a farmer both cooperates with and distorts the ecosystem of the farm in the interest of certain human values, so the policy maker must cooperate with and distort the overall dynamics of society."

In those few words, Professor Boulding has summarized the problem of achieving a lasting stable peace better than anyone since the Sermon on the Mount – or at least Paul's letter to the Corinthians. And it is in just that dual context that I want to commune with you today – the duality of our scriptural heritage as brought up to date by the latest developments in the social and behavioral sciences. To restate it in Professor Boulding's terms of social agriculture, I'd like to ask you to plow a few socio-theological furrows with me.

When I run into old New England friends these days, they ask me,

"What you doin' these days, Mapes?"

"I'm workin' for my grandchildren."

"Oh? Didn't know you had any grandchildren."

"Well, I don't, but I got hopes. I ain't lost hope yet."

"Oh. Well, what you doin' for your grandchildren?"

"I'm tryin' to make it possible for them to get to know their grandchildren."

"That so? How you doin' that?"

"Well, let me tell you about it. . . ."

For several decades now I've wondered whether the human race is to have a future. I'm not completely convinced, but in the past year or so I've begun to have a little hope. Basically, I'm here to tell you why. My subject is the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. I'm here, first, to inform you about the concept and to try to explain why I found it the most exciting idea I've heard of in thirty years – and why it has changed from just a wild dream to an attainable goal.

Secondly, I'm here to ask your help, your assistance – perhaps even your participation – in the attainment of that goal.

And, third, I'm here to urge that you give serious consideration to some other very thoughtful words of Professor Boulding, when he wrote last year, speaking of the National Peace Academy, "Such an Academy would move the whole future in the direction of greater capacity to cope with organized conflict, both domestic and international."

"Such an Academy would move the whole future. . . ."

Yes, I believe it would, and I want to tell you why – and why a Peace Academy has suddenly, or recently, changed from the category of "sweet ideas" (but a bit dreamy) to a hard-headed, practical and realistic possibility, and an attainable goal *if* we work at it. But I want to emphasize that when I say "we", I mean both me and I hope a lot of thee's.

The Peace Academy, if we can create it, will be a very hard-headed, realistic and worldly institution, but I must ask your forebearance if I sound somewhat evangelical when I speak about it. The Sermon on the Mount still stands as the ultimate prescription for world peace, but in terms of our socio-theological approach of today, it has one weakness: to be fully effective it would require human beings to achieve a far more perfect humanity than they have attained in a mere two thousand years. But the trouble is, *we don't have the time!* With the release of the nuclear dragon the clock has run out on human evolution, and it is only too apparent that if the survival of the race is to depend upon its perfection, then without divine intervention it is very probably doomed.

Such being the case, it behooves those of us who believe mankind's past justifies at least some chance at a future to seek alternative means of survival which do not require the perfection of the human race quite yet, but which will give the Gospel further time to work its wonders. The newly developing social science of conflict resolution is just such an alternate approach, and this is the basis for my evangelical fervor. You see, I rather hold to the view expressed by the English doctor-theologian Una Kroll during the Nairobi meeting of the World Council of Churches, when she said, "My understanding of evangelism is, first, helping people live long enough to hear the gospel you want to preach."

The Monument of Peace – One Brick at a Time

My broad subject today is Peace – what is it, what can we do to help achieve it, what will be required to maintain it. But if anyone expects me to lay out a nice neat formula to solve that series of problems, I want to disillusion you immediately. Because you see, peace is a very complex subject. War, these days, is complicated enough, but peace – ? Perhaps the clearest way to express it is to say that peace is to war what chess is to checkers – they are both played on the same board, but peace is infinitely more complex than war.

And these days I often find myself wishing some of my fellow workers in the cause of peace would somehow come to grips with the complexity of the problem, because the acceptance of that complexity is the first step toward its solution. I understand there are over 2,000 active peace organizations in this country, and each of them has its own agenda. What pains me is the overly simplistic thinking on which many of those agenda are based. I submit to you, for example, that a program based on the slogan "Full and complete disarmament now!" is hardly an exercise in realism, given the very dangerous world in which we live. It is simply a fact – again, in the absence of divine intervention – that peace is not going to spring forth full-blown, like Minerva from the brow of Jove! Peace is going to be built like any great sturdy monument, one brick at a time, each brick resting on those laid before by builders all down through the ages.

It is this latter kind of thinking that has produced the Peace Academy concept. Once the immense complexity of the problem of peace is accepted, then we can attack it like any other complex problem – by breaking it down into simpler parts and working out solutions to those parts one at a time. That is the approach which produces the answers that in time will solve the more complex problem, and those individual answers are the bricks which will eventually build man's most long-sought monument – a stable peace for the world.

The only claim I would make today for the Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution is that it is far and away the *best* brick which anyone is offering at present to be laid in that Monument of Peace – and it is practically the *only* brick which it is realistic to hope to get set in mortar in the near future. My point is this: the Peace Academy is realistic, it is practical, and with the help of a few thousand good people it is attainable *now!*

But There Is No Peace –

Now I think we should take a look at the status quo with respect to peace, and I admit the prospect immediately may seem almost over-whelming. In a recent sermon, Paul Kittlaus, Director of the National Office of Church in Society of the United Church of Christ in Washington, D.C., referred to a phenomenon which he described as "scale paralysis" – that feeling we all share which can be summarized in the words, "My powers are so small, and my problems are so very large!" – that growing sense of powerlessness which seems to pervade our society. To this feeling, I suggest two antidotes. First, I think we should all put up on our walls the ancient Oriental quotation: "Better to light one candle than to curse the darkness." And second, I think we should do those many things which we can do on a gradual, patient basis to build the foundation for a permanent peace and assist those who are working to do so, always keeping in mind President Kennedy's statement to the United Nations when he said, "Peace is a daily, a weekly, a monthly process, gradually changing opinions, slowly eroding old barriers, quietly building new structures." My point is that we are involved in literally changing the world, in changing our whole cultural bias and heritage, and it is no job for the faint of heart!

Peace – all nations seek it! The search for peace is at least as old as the Judeao-Christian ethical tradition. All religions exalt it and cherish it among their highest values. Remember the fourth chapter of Micah: "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and prepare for war no more;" and then of course comes the New Testament, much of it devoted to proclaiming the message and the search for peace on earth.

Peace – all people yearn for it; every public opinion poll shows it is at the top of everybody's "want list", yet in the words of Patrick Henry, "Gentlemen may cry peace, but there is no peace," and, we might add, no visible progress towards any lasting peace. We have had 150 wars since the end of World War II in 1945. Today in the world there are somewhere between 40 and 50 wars in progress.

Let me repeat: at the present time we have made no visible progress toward any lasting peace! The only exception to that which has occurred recently, is the Camp David summit meeting, where President Carter gave the world a superb example of the effectiveness of conflict resolution techniques at the highest level.

But aside from that, why are we making no progress towards a lasting peace? What goes on? Why the stalemate? Is peace really that hard to come by? Well, maybe it is. Or, perhaps – could it be – that we really don't know *how* to wage peace – to resolve our conflicts peacably? But you may say, not even now, at the end of the twentieth century? What about the work of all our social scientists – our behavioral scientists? Well, yes, what about that?

We have all marvelled at times of reflection at the vigor and dynamism with which we apply the findings of our physical scientists to material purposes – and especially to the purposes of war. Haven't you ever wondered about how little we have done about applying the work of our social and behavioral scientists to build a science or a technology of peace?

Year after year, decade after decade, we have sung the praises of the Prince of Peace and blessed His name. Every year with the passing of the winter solstice, we have celebrated with joy His birth, and soon we enter again the Advent season of that time of year.

Yet tomorrow, in America alone, some 200,000 scientists will be working to apply scientific findings to the development or improvement of our war potential – and less than 200 scientists will be working on projects to develop our capability to wage – and maintain – peace.

Since 1945 – since the end of World War II – military spending around the globe has exceeded six trillion dollars, that is, 6,000 billion dollars! That is about $1500 for each human being alive on the earth today, man, woman and child. And since 1960, world military expenditures are up 60%, and despite mushrooming fire-power capabilities, the numbers of the world's Armed Forces are also up 20%!

We like to think we are a peaceful people, but the U.S. nuclear arsenal contains enough destructive power to equal 700,000 Hiroshimos, or the equivalent of more than three tons of TNT for each person on this planet! 3 tons of TNT for each person! I think that's probably enough, because some of those persons are really very small.

We are a peaceful people, yet we have four excellent military academies and at least five war colleges, all dedicated to maintaining peace by armed force. Is it unreasonable to suggest that we might have one national institution devoted to teaching and research in how to create the conditions of peace by affirmative means? It's not a very comforting comment, but it was a wise man who recently wrote, "In the normal course of events, nations get what they prepare for." At this point I would like to propose that we make a brief historical survey, to get some idea of where we stand in the development of this entire problem.

A Rose By Any Other Name –

Confucius, while visiting in the state of Wei, was asked what he would do first if he were requested to head the government of that country, and he replied, "As a first step I would see to it that things were called by their right names, for if things are not called by their right names then the statements are misleading, and when the statements are misleading then nothing can be accomplished."

So let's start off by calling things by their right names. For example, "national security" – what is it? Well, for 200 years "national security" meant the ability to defend ourselves and our friends in the event of the next war bursting upon us. So we built up our armed forces and trained the world's best military leaders and experts. But the world has a way of changing the scenery while we're watching the show, and suddenly those same experts tell us that no real defense is possible in a modern, thermonuclear attack. If modern war is forced upon us, there is no defense to be made. And thus, suddenly "national security" – called by its right name – means not *preparing* for war, but *avoiding* it.

But what is the next step in that logic of right-naming? Obviously, if "national security" means developing the ability to avoid war, we should be training not only military experts – that is, experts in making war – but also experts in all sorts of peace-making, in avoiding war. Thus we should be training experts in non-violent conflict resolution – in non-military crisis intervention – in creating the conditions of peace – in analyzing social systems in terms of their peace potential – and that is exactly what the Peace Academy would provide!

Do you see the analogy here? Remember – it is almost part of our folklore that "we always prepare to fight the next war with the last war's weapons!" Well, we're doing it all over again. Our national government is going right on training military experts to fight the last war, or perhaps the next, and doing almost nothing about training experts to avoid it, even though any rational analysis shows quite clearly that our national security involves not just preparing to fight the next war but taking every possible step to avoid it!

What we are actually doing is preparing for the next war with the last war's ideas and that, for a nation with our intellectual capability, is not just shameful and short-sighted; it's asinine – and quite possibly catastrophic!

The Institutional Approach

But let's go back a few years and attempt some institutional analysis of where we stand today. If we're not using new ideas, new concepts – like conflict resolution – surely we're using the old ideas better. Well, let's see if we are. Let's go back to 1939 when Quincy Wright and half of the University of Chicago staff produced a massive study entitled, "A Study of War". The conclusions of this two volume work were that wars are caused basically by changed conditions in society and *the failure of human beings to adapt their institutions* to those changed conditions. There's a great deal of wisdom compressed into those concepts, but are we applying it? And while we're talking about institutions, there's another related concept which is very applicable here. It's almost a truism that people build their institutions and those institutions shape their society – and go on shaping it long after the builders have left the scene.

Our military budget next year will be approximately 126 billion dollars. That's about 350 million dollars for every day of the year. Well, what are we getting for that 126 billion dollars? First, we are, of course, getting deterrence, or detente, the theory being that the ability to inflict unacceptable damage will prevent our opponents on the world scene from attempting to inflict it upon us. But fundamentally, we are just buying time. In the long run, we are merely staving off the inevitable and doing so one day at a time at a rate of approximately 350 million dollars a day. We are buying time. But time to do what? If we're buying time at such an exorbitant rate, it is imperative to ask, "How are we using that time?"

Are we using that time effectively? How are we reshaping our society to ensure its survival? What new institutions are we creating to infuse new ideas, new hope? Are we really doing *anything* to give our grand-children a hope of survival? If ever in world history there was a need for new ideas, new institutions, new break-throughs in the field of peace-keeping and conflict management, surely, this is the time. But what are we accomplishing? The last great institution we created to contribute to world peace was the United Nations and that was over one-third of a century ago!

To Change Our Ways of Thinking

The World Federalists recently sent out a little brochure which said on its cover, "There was a time when only God could end the world". Well, in this sense mankind has now chosen to play God; it has developed the ability to end the world, and that decision once made is irrevocable. But having made that commitment we are now face to face with the fact that we can't play God half way – if we are going to assume His powers, then we must accept some of His responsibilities – and the first step toward survival is a massive change in our ways of thinking.

It was Albert Einstein who said, "the splitting of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." Let me emphasize that: "the splitting of the atom has changed everything. . . ." Yet, we go merrily on, still preparing for the next war with the last war's ideas. That is the challenge we face here today and it is the challenge which the next two generations, at least, will face tomorrow. Either we change our ways of thinking – change many of our basic assumptions – or the future is terrifyingly predictable, and our grandchildren won't have much chance.

What assumptions am I talking about? Let's take one example. Remember that good old Latin wisdom, "If you wish for peace, prepare for war"? Well, for 2,000 years we've been wishing for peace and preparing for war, as if there were some innate wisdom in that statement. And for 2,000 years the preparations have ruled reality and the wishes have remained fond hopes. But why should that surprise us? The most basic folk wisdom tells us: "Watch what a man does, not what he says". To paraphrase that, "Watch what a nation (or the world) prepares for, not what it hopes for!" *If we want peace, we've got to start preparing for it!*

Let's take another, and more immediately current example – "Detente." Detente expresses our hope, our wish; but what about the preparations? Last year at Christmas time Richard Barnet, one of the world's real authorities on U.S.-Soviet relations, writing in the New York Times, concluded that after six years of the Nixon-Breshnev detente: "Detente has not produced any change in the institutions or habits of mind in either country that keep tensions high. While the diplomats haggled at the strategic arms talks, stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides doubled, and major advances in military technology were introduced." Just as an aside, to call things by their right names, perhaps I should add that the phrase "major advances in military technology" means better ways of killing more human beings.

Both Americans and Russians are peaceful people, but as Father McSorley's new book asks: "What are the moral implications when a nation bases its hopes for the future on vast and complicated plans to kill large numbers of people?"

And Senator Mark Hatfield says in his latest book, entitled *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, "To establish peace by a balance of terror is like building a house on sand. The more you work for such a peace, the more people believe that nuclear missiles prevent a holocaust, that armies keep us from fighting, and that peace can be achieved through war." Well, perhaps 1984 is closer than we thought.

Hardly a day passes that I don't find myself wondering, "Are we tottering along the brink of total destruction, or are we teetering on the edge of a bright new era?" The great anthropologist Teilhard de Chardin told us: "Today something is happening to the whole structure of human consciousness. A fresh kind of life is starting."

Well, I hope so. But if that is true we are going to need many new institutions for that bright new age. Let's face it! Humanity is in a tightrope walk along a narrow margin of survival, and that fact will be the most basic fact of life for our children and for our grandchildren – *and that's if they're lucky!*

Conflict Resolution – The New Hope

I'm naturally an optimist, but in the past thirty years I've seen little cause for hope. I've seen precious little constructive change in either our ideas or in our institutions which would lower the scales on the side of survival. And then, a little over a year ago, I learned about the National Peace Academy Campaign and the potential of conflict resolution to solve conflicts before they erupt into violence – and a large gap in my view of the world and its future was suddenly filled.

Now I would like to go back for a few minutes to an exercise of right name calling. What do we mean when we say "peace"? In conflict resolution terms, peace is not defined as the absence of all conflict. As long as people are less than perfect, conflict is probably unavoidable and even necessary in our society. We need it if we are to have any change or progress – it's the yeast or the leaven, the engine of change, the mechanism of progress. Without it the inertia of the status quo becomes overwhelming.

But conflict need not lead to violence. In the field of conflict resolution, peace is defined as the non-violent management of conflict. Earlier I bemoaned the fact that we have done so little to apply the findings of our social and behavioral scientists to develop a science of peace. Well, the good news is that it's finally happening, believe it or not. Under the continued pressure of high level conflict for the past fifteen years, we have finally developed effective techniques for resolving conflict without violence. Psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and other social and behavioral scientists have in the course of their work discovered a new synthesis. Conflict resolution has finally emerged as a new, hard-core discipline involving teachable principles of analysis and effective techniques for the peacable settlement of disputes. It comprises a body of knowledge and techniques drawn from many disciplines, which can be developed into an academic curriculum of great depth and practicality. And that's why a Peace Academy has suddenly become a very practical and attainable goal.

You see, the problem is that unresolved conflict feeds upon itself. Conflict is inevitable as long as human beings are imperfect. It feeds on itself in a closed circle – that is, tension leads to conflict – conflict escalates to violence – violence creates new frustration and tension which leads to conflict, which escalates to violence, which creates tension and so the circle goes around and up in a ever rising spiral. But now we can break the circle between conflict and violence, and that is the good news of conflict resolution because once that circle is broken, the spiral starts a downward course and this can be continued and accelerated to lower the level of tension and conflict all across our society.

We all know now that the world is being tied ever tighter together by our communications networks, so that what happens in one area affects all areas. What effects one man affects us all. Well, what's new about that?

350 years ago John Donne said it very succintly: "No man is an island, sufffficient unto himself". Well, what's new is the demonstrable intensity of our interdependence and perhaps its nature. John Donne was talking about his spiritual involvement with the rest of mankind. Today we still have that age-old spiritual involvement; we can still say with Jesus, "Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brothers –, ye did it unto me." But we also have a new physical and electronic involvement created by our new communications networks, which I should like to suggest today is ever more closely analogous to the neural communications network within our own bodies. Humanity is literally becoming one body, and every day the ties that bind us to the rest of the world are beoming tighter and more apparent: a train hijacking in Amsterdam triggers a plane hijacking in Atlanta two days later: the murder of a 39-year-old preacher in Memphis within hours sets aflame the hearts of 125 American cities.

No one can say where this communications revolution will end. But if it follows its natural course, it will eventually unite mankind to a degree we cannot even conceive today. But what are we doing as a nation to take advantage of this growing interdependence in our search for a lasting peace?

Something is obviously missing – what is it? First, what I believe is missing is a national commitment to a permanent search for peace. Second, a major effort to continue coordinating the work of the social scientists to develop the new science of conflict resolution. And third, a major institutional development of some sort to spread the new gospel, to teach the new art and science of conflict resolution and to spread it as rapidly as possible throughout the society – both here and abroad. Obviously, I am suggesting that the proposed United States Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution would meet those three needs.

Well, I'm asked, conflict resolution sounds great, but does it work? Yes – you can bet it works – in fact, you probably know a dozen cases where it has worked:

- it worked during the Hanafi Muslim takeover in Washington, where experts in conflict resolution got involved early and probably saved fifty hostages' lives;

- it worked at Wounded Knee, where expert intervention prevented the already violent FBI-Indian confrontation from developing into the last great Indian war in what could have been a real pitched battle;

- it worked recently at Kent State University, where the violence of similar events ten years ago was avoided;

- it has worked in over 100 prison riot situations in the past two years, which were resolved by the professionals of the Community Relations Service using conflict resolution techniques, so that the riots never reached the stage of headlines in the newspapers; the opposite case occurred at Attica in New York in 1969, where attempts to resolve the conflict miscarried because no experts in conflict resolution were involved, and the result was a massacre with 43 dead – and a national disgrace.

- it worked in Miami in 1972 where the violence of the Chicago 1968 Democratic Convention was avoided at both the Democratic and Republican Conventions due to the carefully orchestrated intervention of large numbers of experts in conflict resolution;

- it works in hundreds of community disputes handled annually by the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice, and in literally tens of thousands of individual disputes handled each year by the American Arbitration Association;
- it worked in the international field in 1965 when the intervention of one mediator achieved a near-miracle of peace-making in the Dominican Republic after President Johnson's intervention there; and
- we all saw it work at least an initial minor miracle of peace-making at Camp David, where President Carter gave us a prime example of mediative techniques – and their superiority over traditional diplomacy in achieving progress toward the settlement of international disputes.

In short, there is more than adequate reason to believe that an institution like the Peace Academy could train experts in conflict resolution who could make an immense contribution to the stability of our society.

The Peace Academy – What Would It Do?

Now let us assume that the Peace Academy is established. What would it do?

Well, the first thing its establishment would do would be to excite new hope in the hearts of millions of people around the world, because it would commit the world's most powerful nation to a long-term search for the means and methods of world peace. When the full significance of that is grasped I think I can appreciate no single act which would do more for the American image across the world. I think it would also make a lot of Americans very proud of their country.

Far into the future, the Peace Academy would serve as a national center to teach, refine, develop and coordinate research in the age-old art and rapidly changing science of peace making – or conflict resolution.

Present thinking calls for the Academy to be a graduate-level institution, offering a two-year Master's program and additional mini-courses and special shorter seminars to meet the needs of leaders of business or labor, government employees, civic leaders, and members of the military and law enforcement agencies. Perhaps as many as 25% of the long-term students would come from foreign countries.

Peace Academy graduates would move on to positions in local, state, and national government, private organizations, the Foreign Service, the Armed Forces, corporations, labor unions, welfare services and international organizations. In positions throughout our society, these graduates will work for creative alternatives to violence – for the peaceful resolution of conflict. If the levels of conflict continue to rise all across our society and our world, if crime continues to be one of our primary growth industries, if terrorism remains an active force and a threat as nuclear weapons become more and more available, the work of Peace Academy graduates may become crucial to the survival of organized society!

Again, I am stressing the importance of institutions in shaping and molding our society. Kenneth Boulding wrote recently: "The most important legislation is not that which performs a single act, but that which creates an institution that throws its weight into the whole future course of events."

Well, I'm not smart enough to foresee all the effects of building a Peace Academy – I'm not sure anyone is – but I can look at it from several viewpoints, and I like what I see from all of them.

From an intellectual viewpoint, I can see it committing the United States to a permanent search for peace and I can see a lot of other nations copying our example, and that's pretty exciting.

From the point of view of hope, I can imagine the Peace Academy helping to prove the Freud-Leakey theory that mankind can indeed learn and adapt his culture to assure his racial survival. This I can hope, and that's pretty exciting too.

From a theological point of view, I must believe that God has not nursed mankind this far along the path of history without having a plan involving some future purpose, some destiny other than premature racial obliteration. And so I have to believe that if we can just give Him a chance and a few thousand trained and dedicated workers as His agents, He will find some way to keep humanity from the ultimate act of self-destruction.

And, finally, from a strictly humanist approach, I would say we must select top-notch people from all walks of life, give them the finest training possible in the art of peace-making, then turn them back to society to do their thing – believing that some of them will emerge into positions of power at the exact time and place to shape history. Some of them will be great and inspired and one of them, at just the right time, may turn out to be a global Churchill or a Lincoln, a Martin Luther, or a Martin Luther King, who will have the courage, the vision, and the wisdom to make the crucial correct decision at some future watershed of history.

Well, I hear someone asking, "Can we justify another governmental institution in the wake of Proposition 13?" I think the answer here is, "Yes, of course we can, because this is the most cost-effective proposal in legislative form in Washington today or in recent history." What a benefit-cost ratio! Look at what we would be risking: for an annual budget of less than one fifth of one day's military budget, the Peace Academy could turn out experts who could help make it possible to hold down burgeoning welfare agency costs, police force increases, court system expansions, and eventually the real monster costs of our defense preparations.

And one final area deserved special mention and that is the growing worldwide threat of terrorism – and we don't have to look as far as Italy to find it at least in its incipient stages.

During 1975, a relatively peaceful year, there were 2,053 reported bombings in the United States, which killed 69 people, injured 326, and caused more than 26 million dollars in property damage alone. This, and other forms of terrorist activity can be expected to rise if the next cycle of increased tension and violence is not met and counteracted by greatly improved and more widely applied methods of peaceful Conflict Resolution.

The most knowledgable experts today agree: the techniques and theoretical knowledge are available but there is a critical shortage of trained people to apply them. The Peace Academy in some form seems to be the most feasible way to alleviate that shortage.

To Move The Whole Future?

Oh, but I say, Mapes – "To move the whole future?" – Isn't that a bit grandiose?

Well, perhaps it is – but I don't think so. If we accept the fact that conflict is inevitable and contains the threat of massive violence, then perhaps we had better start a national program to train experts to deal with it.

Recently, my own Pastor, George Booth, in Arlington, Virginia, told the story in a sermon of the great Quaker, John Woolman, who by gentle persuasion rid the Society of Friends of the Curse of Slavery long before the Civil War. Then George asked: "What if there had been 500 John Woolmans?" Yes, what if? What might have been accomplished without the terrible tragedy of Shiloh and Wilderness and Gettysburg – and the one hundred years of repetitious tragedy which were their aftermath in the South? But now, what if the Peace Academy can be founded and turn out ten thousand experts in Conflict Resolution between 1980 and the year 2000?

What if other countries not only send their best and brightest students to the Peace Academy, but also emulate us and start their own Peace Academies? They will, you know; already four foreign countries have expressed interest.

What if there developed a worldwide reserve of experts in peace-making who were available to spot and cool off trouble spots before they reach the point of explosion, before they even begin to contribute to that worldwide body of tension and conflict I mentioned earlier?

It can happen, you know, but it needs your help and your support! Remember how we left mankind on that tightrope, tip-toeing along a narrow margin of survival for generations into the future? Well, I'd like to suggest that maybe – just maybe – the Peace Academy might widen that margin a little, and perhaps a little will be enough to give our grandchildren a reasonable chance of survival.

Oftentimes recently, while speaking on the Peace Academy concept in various areas of the country, I have been challenged by skeptics who say, "Oh, come on now – human beings have always fought and always will. We've always had wars, and we always will. How can Conflict Resolution change human nature?"

One response to that is merely to pose a couple of equally well-founded questions, such as: "Mankind has always structured his society to assure racial survival, not annihilation. Why do you think the atomic age will change those rules? Survival of the species is the first great law of nature – why do you think it has now been repealed?"

But I think it is perhaps enough to point out that although war is indeed an ancient and honored human institution, it is not sacrosanct. History demonstrates that human institutions are normally cherished long after they become anachronisms, but they are abandoned when, and only when, they become either useless or counterproductive. War has now achieved that distinction. I really think we have arrived at a genuine conjunction of history when war, which has always been evil, has now become useless; and mankind, however much it may seem to be attracted to recognized evil, is instinctively repelled by any institution which is thoroughly and demonstrably useless – or uselessly destructive.

So I really think that what we need now are alternative means of resolving our conflicts so that we can profitably reject the violence of war as an approved method of achieving peace. I believe those means are now available, and in closing I would like to advert back to that brilliant summary of Kenneth Boulding's, when he said, "The problem of peace policy is . . . how to introduce a bias into the system that moves it toward stable peace at a more rapid rate." What I am suggesting is that the Peace Academy might introduce into the system precisely the bias it will require to move forward into an era of stable but still dynamic peaceful equilibrium at all levels of society. In terms of my earlier analogy, the Peace Academy won't build the whole Monument of Peace – but it's the best brick available today.

And now – just a post script to give you the really good news. On October 15th, 1978, at 10:23 a.m., the Congress of the United States passed the legislation to establish a one-year study commission to evaluate the Peace Academy concept and to decide whether the Peace Academy should be built.

That legislation (signed into law by the President on November 1, 1978) comprises the results of two and one-half years of hard work by the Peace Academy Campaign, and it is the first major step toward the actual establishment of a National Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution. I don't need to tell you that the passage of this legislation has lifted the hearts of people all across the nation and the globe who long for a more stable society and a peaceful world order.

The Peace Academy Campaign needs the help of every one of you who cares about peace and the future of humanity. Together we can put the Peace Academy brick in place and perhaps change the whole shape of the structure of peace. Such an Academy *would* move the whole future – and give our grandchildren new hope of survival. If it doesn't happen, I hope it won't be because you didn't care enough to help.

For further information, you are invited to write to:

National Peace Academy Campaign
1625 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 726
Washington, D.C. 20006

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

I thank you especially for the quotes. Somehow personal utterances sound more profound when quoted by others. [Laughter.]

We will now hear from the executive director, Consortium of Social Science Associations in Washington, D.C., Dr. Roberta Balstad Miller.

Dr. **Miller**. Thank you very much. I appreciate the opportunity to testify on behalf of the Consortium of Social Science Associations and the 152,000 social and behavioral scientists that it represents.

I would like to echo the remarks of your panelists about the importance of establishing a peace academy, and I would also like to add to their remarks some consideration of the importance of this academy for the furtherance of research in the study of peace and the conflict of the resolution.

"Peace Research" is a label that has come to be applied to a broad spectrum of research activities focused on: (1) The conditions that produce conflict, (2) the dynamics of the conflict process, (3) the means and conditions for conflict resolution, and (4) the development of procedures and institutions that maximize cooperation and thus inhibit conflict. Peace research is principally concerned with the study of conflict dynamics. While peace researchers can be found in a great variety of disciplines—psychology, anthropology, sociology and political science—probably the greatest concentration today is found in the field of international politics.

One consequence of World War II was a massive influx of researchers from other disciplines into this field, individuals who believed they could contribute their knowledge and expertise to the study of international conflict. At that time, a field which had been largely historical and descriptive learned how: (1) To collect data on wars, crises, alliances, interaction events, et cetera; (2) to develop meaningful ways to measure basic concepts like war, polarity, power distribution; (3) to process data statistically so as to be able to analyze such important hypotheses as the relationship between alliance commitments and wars, and the internal stability of countries and their potential for outside intervention, and, finally, researchers learned to use mathematics to develop theories which explain and predict the dynamics of processes related to the initiation and termination of conflict.

In the 35 years since the Second World War, these studies of the dynamics of international conflict have grown by incredible bounds. They have grown simply in terms of the numbers of studies that are being done and the numbers of researchers that are involved. But the field has grown in other ways as well. It has grown in its understanding of the dynamics of international politics and in the sophistication with which it now poses research questions and then seeks to study them. It is probably not too strong to assert that within the social science disciplines, the studies that relate to peace research are probably among the most sophisticated with respect to data collection procedures, statistical data processing, and mathematical modeling.

All of this, then, is by way of saying that there is a significant, large and growing research community that is concerned with peace research. The establishment of a peace academy at this juncture would not only be an extremely valuable asset to this community, but it could also supply the impetus for major research discoveries.

Most researchers in this area work independently and largely within the isolation of their own universities. Although they attend meetings, give papers and publish their results, there is currently no institutional framework within which they can meet and interact for prolonged periods of time. There are no centers or institutes for the study of conflict dynamics. A peace academy could bring together a number of major researchers for extended periods of time and, by releasing them from other university responsibilities, could provide a medium for interaction and collaboration that could be critical for the future development of this research field.

A second area of great need is in the training of new peace researchers. When students finish their doctoral training in areas related to peace research, they must move immediately into jobs. There are no postdoctoral fellowships for students in this field, as there are in physics, chemistry, et cetera. This has two deleterious effects. First, it means that these researchers are largely trained at only one graduate institution—they cannot, as is true in the other sciences, benefit from exposure to other "laboratories," other ways of asking and answering questions. Second, having to take a job immediately upon completion of the Ph. D. means that these students must lay aside their research while they develop courses, teach, attend committees, et cetera. A postdoctoral fellowship program at a peace academy would provide these students with the opportunity to interact with other researchers and the time to further their own research.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, a peace academy would play a critical role in funding and developing further research. Advisory committees to the academy could identify major data needs for the research community at large and fund such projects, and could attempt to stimulate research on questions not currently receiving adequate attention. The academy could act as a clearinghouse for the ongoing exchange of ideas and research. The research on conflict processes that is currently being done would be greatly enhanced, stimulated and furthered by the establishment of a peace academy.

For these reasons, the research community would welcome and work with such an institution.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity to testify.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Dr. Miller, for your fine statement.

Is Mr. Thomas Colosi here?

Dr. WEDGE. He has not arrived.

Senator MATSUNAGA. I would wish to ask questions of this panel but we still have another panel waiting and I believe, for the record, that we will submit questions to you. There is one question that maybe the present panel can answer fast. As you probably heard this morning, it was pointed out by Congressman Dan Glickman, that his bill would call the institution, the U.S. Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. The Commission, as Dr. Boulding well knows, decided to use just U.S. Academy of Peace because there were some objections raised during the hearings relative to delving into domestic conflict resolution, that we ought to begin at the international level, that there were other institutions already concerned with domestic conflicts, and there was some fear expressed about the fact that if we added conflict resolution, it might raise objections from Members of Congress who otherwise would support the measure.

It was for that reason, I might explain to those who raised the question, that the Commission decided to omit the conflict resolution part. Initially, we started out as a commission on peace and conflict resolution, as most of you know.

So, if you could give me a fast answer to the question, which way should we go? We will begin with Dr. Boulding.

Dr. **Boulding**. A fast answer.

Well, I think my own view at this point is that it does not matter a great deal what the label is and that I am perfectly willing to accept the conclusion of the debates in the House and the Senate, but I think in practice that the boundaries between the domestic, international, and local, and local/international are so unclear that one must continuously cross those boundaries in dealing with the full nature of any particular conflict and in dealing with the underlying problems.

So, in fact, we will have to move across different levels but if it makes it a difference to Congress to feel that the international has been given primary, which indeed was, I believe, our mandate, then I do not feel that would handicap the actual academy in doing what it needs to do in the research and training way.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Mike?

Mr. **Mapes**. I can only endorse what Dr. Boulding said. After all, she is a member of my board of directors.

But I do think we all understand that much of what we know about conflict resolution and peacemaking has come out of the domestic scene. A prime example was the use of the single document negotiating text at Camp David, which was so tremendously effective there, and is a technique which will be used repeatedly in the future, I am sure. It came right out of 75 years of labor-management relations experience in this country.

I think Dr. Boulding said you cannot make that dividing line any more, between domestic and international. Conflict resolution is a seamless web that stretches cuts all across our society.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Mr. Freitag.

Mr. **Freitag**. Well, just quickly, I think we want to focus on the function and we could, with any danger that would enable that function to go forward, we surely would not want to see one who has to vote on this bill be able to say, well, I am for the function but I am opposed to the name and, therefore, I will not vote. We sure do want results.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Dr. Miller.

Dr. **Miller**. I think I would add a fourth vote to Dr. Boulding and endorse the proposal.

Thank you.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you. Thank you all.

Dr. **Wedge**. Senator Matsunaga, I would point out that we have Rose and Dan Lucy, who are pioneers, because between 1960 and 1967 they organized a campaign for a National Academy of Peace. It is their opinion that theirs could not go very far, not only because of the time, but because of the title and the coupling of peace and conflict resolution turned out to be much more potent mode of communication. And one other point, whether domestic interests are involved, the Community Services and the Department of Justice, the Federal Mediation Conciliation Service, the American Arbitration Association, and every agency that I know of involved in domestic dispute resolution is a strong proponent for the Peace Academy, and the Peace Academy sees the function of peace as a seemless web that runs from interpersonal peace to world peace.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you very much, Bryant Wedge.

Our next panel, panel No. 3, will consist of Mrs. Mary Purcell, president, American Association of University Women.

Mrs. Mary Purcell.

STATEMENTS OF MARY PURCELL, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, WASHINGTON, D.C.; PATTY BANKSON, DIRECTOR, YMCA OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON OFFICE; DR. ZELLE ANDREWS, DIRECTOR, PEACE ADVOCACY PROJECT, UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, NEW YORK; DR. JOSEPH F. CLOUD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, METROPOLITAN HUMAN RELATIONS OF NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY, NASHVILLE, TENN.; AND REV. JONATHAN BARTON, NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, PRINCETON, N.J., A PANEL

Mrs. **Purcell**. Yes. Thank you, Senator Matsunaga.

I am Mary Purcell of Wallingford, Pa., president of the American Association of University Women, the oldest and largest organization for the educational advancement of women. On behalf of our 190,000 members, I am pleased to have this opportunity to address this subcommittee in strong support of creating a U.S. Academy of Peace, and commend you for making this opportunity possible for me.

The promotion of international understanding, cooperation, and world peace is one of the oldest and strongest of AAUW's commitments. The principle of international cooperation and mediation through international organizations has permeated the AAUW study-action programs since 1922. It is therefore fitting 60 years later to be here on Capitol Hill to support a national effort to establish a U.S. Academy of Peace which would work to educate, inform, and research war avoidance in the age of instant nuclear destruction.

We believe that the findings of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, which advocate the establishment of an institution dedicated to research, education, and training in peacemaking skills, and an information service on conflict resolution can only bring our Nation, and other nations, further away from the nuclear abyss. Without a focused Federal investment in peace research, education, training, and information services which we believe, as the Commission did, is an appropriate function of the Federal Government, we believe that the chances of our survival on this planet until the end of this century are highly unlikely.

Since our founding in 1881, AAUW has long been concerned with the pursuit of peace. This is not to label us a pacifist organization.

College educated women who joined AAUW believe that military security alone does not prevent wars. Only a combination of national efforts which ensure stable economic conditions and the pursuit of human endeavors, balanced with a strong defense can create an environment which reduces the risk of war. Economic justice, social development, and political security for all people can only be achieved by peaceful means.

AAUW supported President Wilson when war was declared in 1916. But we also supported a League of Nations. From 1921 to 1935, the Association's legislative program endorsed the League idea, even though the U.S. Congress never approved it. In 1928, AAUW participated in public hearings sponsored by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. This committee addressed the role of women in organizing conferences on war and peace issues. We supported the World Court idea in 1930 and worked actively on the Women's World Court Committee. And in 1931, during the disarmament negotiations that were taking place in Europe, our leadership spoke out about how the process of such peace talks eliminated women. We felt women should be active participants in the negotiation process. The inclusion of women into the national security world is one we still must work to insure. A Peace Academy would be one vehicle for such training.

As a national women's organization devoted to the continuing education of women to become active members of their community, our studies on war and peace issues have revealed a close correlation between the arms race, arms balances, and the outbreak of war. This evidence is validated by the world around us. In 1979, the Center for Defense Information produced a study on "A World at War." The report documented 37 major and minor armed conflicts around the world involving upwards of $8 million. Total loss of lives, roughly estimated, ranged from 1 to 5 million persons. Among the conclusions of the study were:

Local wars are increasingly intense and terrorism is now a fact of international politics.

Weapons provided by the United States and the U.S.S.R. have dramatically increased the power of smaller nations to kill and destroy.

Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. are just beginning to realize that their huge military establishments are of declining utility in achieving international objectives.

When irresponsible nations acquire nuclear weapons, war fighting and the conduct of international affairs will be dramatically altered. World War III may easily start from a local war.

These points demonstrate the desperate need in this Nation to train persons in conflict resolution, to engage individuals in peace research, and to educate American citizens about the prevention of war through peacemaking skills. Only through a specialized peace academy can such a concentrated educational effort be set forth. It is time this Nation dedicated some of its vast resources to peacemaking rather than to the development of the instruments of war.

We urge you, therefore, as an association, to favorably consider this legislation before you before time runs out. And we promise you our support of 190,000 women across this country who will speak to it, I am quite sure, vehemently, vigorously and continuously to whatever effect it may have. [Applause.]

[The following information was received for the record:]

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
2401 Virginia Avenue N.W. Washington D.C. 20037
news release

April 21, 1982

FOR Immediate Release

Contact: Janice Katz
Sharon Dean Evrard
202/785-7728

GRADUATE WOMEN SUPPORT PEACEMAKING SKILLS

"The American Association of University Women believes the establishment of an institution dedicated to research, education and training in peacemaking skills, and an information service on conflict resolution could prevent a nuclear holocaust," said Mary Purcell, president of the 190,000 member AAUW. Speaking today at a Subcommittee hearing in support of Senate bill 1889 for the creation of a U.S. Academy of Peace, she stressed the need for an organization dedicated to increasing the potential for peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Stating AAUW's position Mrs. Purcell said, "Since our founding in 1881, AAUW has long been concerned with the pursuit of peace. This is not to label us a pacifist organization. College educated women who joined AAUW believe that military security alone does not prevent wars.

"Only a combination of national efforts which ensure stable economic conditions and the pursuit of human endeavors, balanced with a strong defense can create an environment which reduces the risk of war. Economic justice, social development and political security for all people can only be achieved by peaceful means."

"It is time this nation dedicated some of its vast resources to peacemaking rather than to the development of the instruments of war," Purcell said.

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PRESIDENT'S · MESSAGE

Toward Peace: What Can We Do?

by Mary Purcell

Mary Purcell and Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor at a recent gathering.

One exciting aspect of the AAUW presidency is the opportunity to talk with a cross section of women about the issues that affect their lives. Women from every part of the United States have discussed with me the need for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, continuing inequities in education and employment, and lack of recognition for the rights of homemakers. Their moods vary from frustration to anger at the lack of support from people in decision-making positions.

In recent months, I have noticed women speaking of another concern, the escalating arms race that seems to engulf the world. Now there is an element of fear for the future of their children. They are concerned about the proposed $33 billion dollar increase in the 1983 U.S. defense budget with its huge outlay for MX missiles. Where is the arms race leading? Where will it end?

The question—what can we do?—is initially overwhelming. Decisions made inside the Department of Defense seem complex and far removed from the average individual. The constraints of the current economy make it even more difficult to see beyond the purely personal issues revolving around home and job. This issue of *Graduate Woman* focuses on AAUW's long history in international relations and its concern for peace. It also explores this country's changing mood about increased emphasis on the military.

One individual has found a way to respond. Her name is Dr. Helen Caldicott, a pediatrician formerly with Harvard Medical School. She resigned from Harvard to give full time to the organization Physicians for Social Responsibility, whose mission is to make the world see how close it is to committing planetary suicide through nuclear war. She is practicing, she believes, "the ultimate form of preventive medicine."

Dr. Caldicott believes that American adults are practicing "psychic numbing," choosing to ignore the danger by engaging in the irrelevant. She suggests our "numbing" is reflected in a myriad of activities from gourmet cooking to hot tubs. However, she notes, surveys show adolescents are not so numb to danger and can see for themselves that there is essentially no future. What a chilling thought! Caldicott is determined to educate the American public to the harsh facts concerning the use of nuclear weapons.

Many groups are participating in national coalitions to draw attention to the escalating arms race and its potential for the US and the world. In April, AAUW joined many other organizations in support of Ground Zero Week—a week of activities around the country designed to draw public attention to the potentially disastrous effects of nuclear war and even of continued nuclear proliferation.

AAUW has a strong statement in this area in its *Legislative Program* under "Foreign Policy." It supports: (2) "Continued negotiations for the reduction and control of armaments, with special regard to nuclear proliferation, the sales of conventional weapons, and the production of biological and chemical weapons."

To be a lobbyist against something is one way to respond; to look for an alternate approach is another. The latter appears to be the direction of the US Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. After the Commission held a series of public hearings and reviewed much research, it sent its recommendations to the 97th Congress. The principal recommendation is that: "The President and the Congress of the United States should establish the U.S. Academy of Peace." Legislation (S1889) has been introduced in the Senate by Sen. Spark Matsunaga (HI) and in the House by Rep. Dan Glickman (KS).

The Commission determined that the "danger to national and international peace and security from violent escalation of political, economic, and cultural conflicts could be reduced by rigorous development of a rage of effective conflict response options, in addition to military capacity."

The proposed Academy, a federally-funded, nonprofit, independent corporation, would assist in attaining the nation's goal of promoting international peace by:

- Developing knowledge of the processes and elements of peace among nations;
- Educating and training people in the problem-solving skills of conflict resolution as they pertain to international peace;
- Informing citizens and noncitizens, including government decision-makers at all levels, of peaceful methods of international conflict resolution.

It sounds so very reasonable and sane. But how will it be perceived? Just another academic solution? I suggest educated women should give this proposal serious consideration. If US taxpayers can support military service academies and "war colleges" to train people for conflict, why not an academy that trains people to live in peace?

What do you think? GW

Senator **Matsunaga**. How many of those 190,000 are in Hawaii?

Mrs. **Purcell**. I am going there, Senator, I am going to Hawaii in June to speak to them. I believe we have over 500 there now, and we will be having a regional conference there.

Senator **Matsunaga**. This June?

Mrs. **Purcell**. Yes. This June I will be there.

Senator **Matsunaga**. That is great.

Mrs. **Purcell**. We have a very active—as a matter of fact, a tremendously active organization in Hawaii.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator **Matsunaga**. We will now hear from Ms. Patty Bankson. She is the director of the Washington Office of the YMCA of the United States, again one of the first organizations with the AAUW and the NEA which have come forward to endorse the Peace Academy.

We would be happy to hear from you, Ms. Bankson.

Ms. **Bankson**. Thank you, Senator Matsunaga.

I am Patty Bankson, director of the YMCA of the U.S.A.'s Washington office. I am representing our executive director, Solon Cousins, who had to be in Sioux Falls, S. Dak., today. We appreciate this opportunity to convey the support of our national board for the concept of the Peace Academy. I will summarize our written statement and ask that it appear in its entirety in the hearing record.

The YMCA of the U.S.A., consists of nearly 1,900 YMCA's throughout the country, with over 100,000 volunteer members of local boards of directors. The 89 members of our national board represent a broad spectrum of political ideology—as diverse as our local associations and the Members of Congress. It was therefore an unusual display of support when our national board voted on March 27 to endorse the concept of a U.S. Academy of Peace, with not one dissenting vote.

Internationally, we are closely linked to YMCA's through the World Alliance of YMCA's headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. The worldwide YMCA constituency includes over 25 million men, women, and children. A few weeks ago, our representative to the World Alliance returned from a Geneva meeting to tell us that other national YMCA's were very supportive of our interest in the Peace Academy. Several asked him to convey their strong belief that the active involvement of the U.S. Government is of critical importance in establishing credibility for a Peace Academy. We agree.

We know there are skills that can be taught to assist in resolving conflicts. We know this because we have used them.

In 1972, when it became evident that thousands of protestors were organizing for the Democratic and Republican Conventions in Miami Beach that summer, the YMCA resolved to do all it could to prevent a repetition of the disastrous events at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago. Research on the Chicago events indicated the chaos had been nurtured by poor communications. Both the police and the protesting groups continually misread the other's signals. Actions were taken based on assumption and not fact. Poor communications lead to frustration, anxiety, and tension, which often result in confrontation.

Out of our resolve came the project known as Miami Outreach. Over 200 of our young men and women, on loan from YMCA's across the country, were flown into Miami for the two conventions. They received the admiration of police and protestors alike as on foot and in radio-controlled vans they worked 24 hours a day to keep peace and understanding and to avert potentially explosive situations. Our project was geared to help protect the rights of persons to dissent in our society while also upholding the mission of police to keep order and to assure the security of citizens and property.

This is relevant to our discussion todav because an evaluation team from Loyola University who watched Miami Outreach from inception to conclusion wrote that this was one of the most viable crisis prevention programs ever witnessed and urged that training of this kind continue so that crises in the future could draw on the talents and skills exhibited by the workers of Miami Outreach. Now there is a plan to establish an academy to provide such training with the support of over 50 U.S. Senators and over 100 Members of the House.

The focus of this legislation is international, and we believe correctly so. At a period of unprecedented concern in this country about the possibility of nuclear warfare, it is absolutely essential that the U.S. Government focus on new means of keeping peace and resolving international disputes. We believe there has never been a time when there has been greater need for a vast array of alternatives to nuclear warfare. The Peace Academy concept would demonstrate a commitment on the part of the U.S. Government to seek alternatives to nuclear confrontation.

We have been impressed with some of the observations from our military leaders. Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, former Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, has said:

> I have long felt that carefully organized study and support of the processes that strengthen world peace can be of broad and lasting value. The initiative on behalf of the Peace Academy dedicated to such goals is a worthy contribution to the deeper understanding of these complex issues that we all need.

It is our hope that this legislation receives the bipartisan support it deserves and becomes law in the 97th Congress. The YMCA of the U.S.A., will then be able to work with the 89 other national YMCA's to influence their governments to do the same. The significance of carrying this effort to the global scene is one that should give us all hope for the future of our children.

Thank you.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Ms. Bankson.

We will now hear from the director of the peace advocacy project of the United Church of Christ, New York, Dr. Zelle Andrews.

Dr. ANDREWS. I am Zelle Andrews. I am pleased to be here once again before you, Senator Matsunaga, as a graduate of the University of Hawaii and a long-time resident there. I know that my former home State can take pride in your leadership on this issue.

I am currently director of the peace advocacy project of the United Church of Christ, a denomination with 6,000 churches and 1.6 million members across the country. I do not speak for all those members but on behalf of social policy established by our general synod, a biennial national convention of delegates which last met in June 1981.

At that convention, the over 700 delegates affirmed our church's commitment to a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. They called upon members of the church to inform the President of the United States and Members of Congress that we consider the establishment of this Academy a matter of high priority. This resolution was one element of a larger process of identifying church-wide concerns for the next 4 years which saw world peace emerge as the overwhelming choice of the delegates.

The United Church of Christ has been on record in support of a National Peace Academy since 1979. It is a national policy for addressing the problem of human conflict to which we can say yes. It is a positive method of peacemaking which offers a practical alternative to the seemingly endless production of terrible weapons and the regular exchange of horrible threats between superpowers to which we have long been forced to say no.

The emphasis in this administration on greatly increased military spending, especially on nuclear weapons, makes the establishment of a Peace Academy even more urgent, in our view, than it was in 1979 when our members supported such an institution as one way for our Government to take the lead in turning nations toward reversing the arms race. A national academy devoted to teaching and research is a necessary counter to that dangerous, wasteful, and ultimately futile search for security through arms and more arms.

I am also speaking today on behalf of the Conference on Peace Research in History, an organization of 300 scholars and teachers in peace studies primarily in the United States. I am a member of that organization's executive council. In April 1980, the council voted unanimously to support the concept of a National Peace Academy as a means of sharing research and findings that have been developed within the past 16 years. There is an ample body of information on conflict resolution, the council said, which needs to be extended to government and popular audiences.

In a supporting statement to the Disector of the Commission on Proposals for a National Academy of Peace, President Charles DeBenedetti of the University of Toledo observed that:

> We peace historians know that history—contrary to the manner in which it is customarily taught—generally entails the story of wars not undertaken and violence not pursued. This reality needs to be communicated with others at home and abroad. And we know of no better means of communicating these truths than through a National Academy of Peace * * * in which others might learn that those conditions constitute the norm—not the aberrations—of the human condition.

Both organizations that I represent today believe that a Federal investment in peace research and training is clearly in the national interest. Our community of faith and our organization of scholars know that peacemaking can be a calling, but it is also a body of knowledge and a skill which can be taught and learned. We believe that it must be learned, especially by national lawmakers, if we are to survive the conflicts that face us in a nuclear age.

We strongly urge you to support S. 1889.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you very much, Dr. Andrews. It is good to have a University of Hawaii graduate up here before this subcommittee.

We will now hear from the executive director, Metropolitan Human Relations Commission of Nashville and Davidson County, Nashville, Tenn., Dr. Joseph Fred Cloud.

Dr. **Cloud**. I am deeply grateful for this oppurtunity to testify in support of the establishment of the U.S. Academy of Peace. I am convinced that such an academy will contribute substantially to the achievement and preservation of peace, both nationally and internationally. Its three major functions—research, education and training, and information services—will provide an intensive experience of "peace learning" for scholars and for persons in Government, private enterprise and voluntary associations. We are greatly encouraged by this broad range of citizens who are going to be involved in the Academy's programs. For we are convinced that we must cultivate a commitment to nonviolence among our fellow Americans at every level—city, State, and Nation.

Our Nation's leaders do not approach situations of international conflict in a vacuum. They are dependent upon understanding and support from a wide range of citizens if their peacemaking efforts are to be successful. It is important, therefore, for us to recognize that there are four basic "arenas of conflict."

You were asking, Senator Matsunaga, whether we feel that its scope is both domestic and international. My basic concept is that there are intrapsychic, interpersonal, intergroup, and international arenas of conflict which are not discrete and separate but which interpenetrate, from the smaller to the larger and vice versa.

What does this have to do with the U.S. Academy of Peace? A great deal. My conviction is that it is imperative to have a steady stream of graduates moving out from the Academy in 1980's and 1990's into local communities, State governments, and various agencies of the Federal Government with a strong commitment to nonviolent conflict resolution—and with well-developed skills to express that commitment. Such a cadre of citizens, well-schooled in "peace learning," can help us to reverse the violence which characterizes all too much of our national life and international life.

I have been with the commission for 16 years now, and I have been through the riots of the sixties; and frankly, with the high level of unemployment, with the cutbacks in social programs, with the mean spirit that is pervasive in many arenas of our national and international life, I think the potential for violence is great. Frankly, I feel that the concern with one's own economic situation means that a lot of persons do not have the responsiveness to injustice that characterized a large number of people in the sixties; so the potential for violence is great, and I think that we have to recognize that.

Why are so many Americans acting violently today? There is no single cause of violence, but one factor is unquestionably a limited repertory of responses to conflict situations, including a lack of knowledge of nonviolent conflict resolution techniques. We believe that the Acauemy of Peace will help to remedy this deficiency. Over the past 30 years, a body of theory and practice has been developed in the areas of negotiation, arbitration and peaceful conciliation of disputes. This is an invaluable national resource which is not, at present, being fully utilized. Let us pull together, in an Academy of Peace, the most insightful and experienced of the practitioners of nonviolent conflict resolution, and share their hard-won wisdom with a new generation of peacemakers.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that one of America's great strengths is our cultural pluralism. One of my tasks in Nashville is to serve as the chairperson of the Refuge Resettlement Task Force, and we have a community of persons from some 60 ethnic heritages. I believe that we should build upon this strength by consciously and deliberately including persons of many races and ethnic origins in the educational and training programs of the Peace Academy.

In a few years our diplomatic teams could communicate nonverbally by the diversity of their appearance and backgrounds, that America affirms the worth of persons of every race and ethnic heritage. I believe that would help us a lot in our dealings with the global family of humankind.

Obviously, we are not counting on the U.S. Academy of Peace to do everything necessary to replace our climate of violence with one of nonviolence. What we are contending is that the Academy will render invaluable services in the three areas of research, education and training, and information. These services would swell greatly the ranks of persons qualified to work at every level of our national life for creative resolution of conflicts. As they cooperate with individuals and groups in churches and schools, voluntary associations, and Government agencies, we will get a "multiplier effect" that will greatly enhance our efforts to achieve a peaceful society and a peaceful world.

When we consider the proposed cost of the U.S. Academy of Peace, we are impressed with how modest it is. The initial investment of $15 and the operating costs of $16 million for the first 2 years is an investment that will save our Nation many times that amount as Academy graduates help to deescalate the levels of violence, both nationally and internationally.

My family, my friends I talked with them about this before coming and I feel that our tax dollars will be well-spent to help support the U.S. Academy of Peace. We hope that the Senate will pass by a large majority S. 1889, and that this important place for "peace learning," this national academy for training persons in nonviolent conflict resolution, will soon become a reality. All of us are hungry for peace, Mr. Chairman, and such an inspired and timely proposal as the U.S. Academy of Peace can generate new hope and new commitment to working for peace in the hearts of millions of Americans.

Thank you.

[The following information was received for the record:]

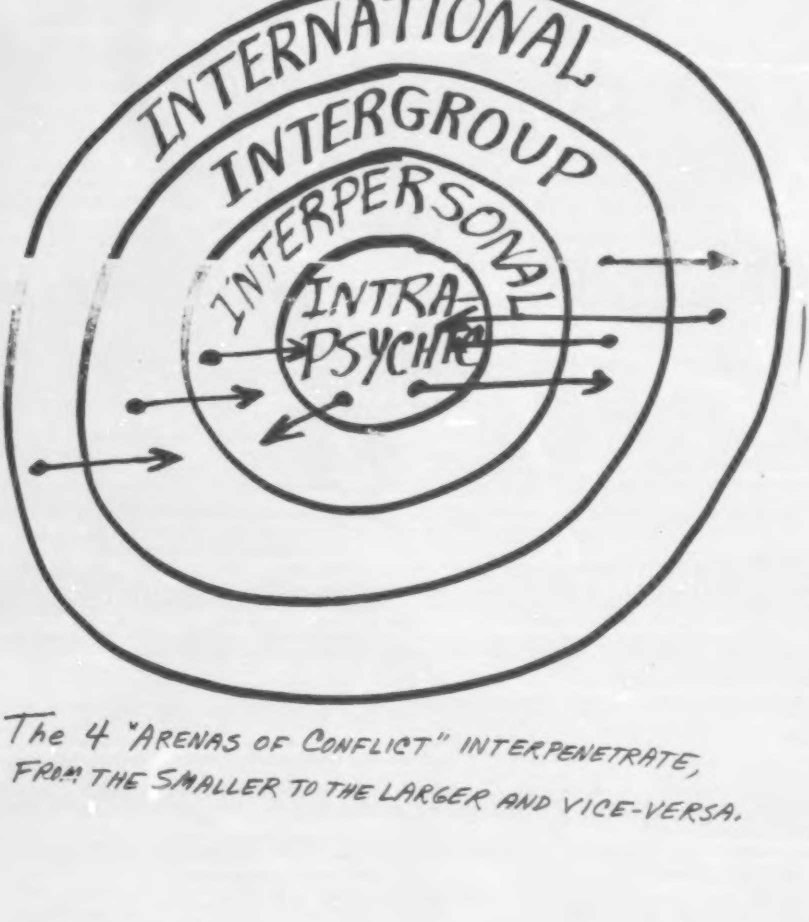
(Senate Hearing on S.1889)
(April 21, 1982)

ARENAS OF CONFLICT

Interpenetration (Examples):

- Intrapsychic to Interpersonal:
  - —Disturbed college student who suddenly shoots and kills persons at random.
  - —Adult, who as a child was abused, who abuses own child/ren. (The Interpersonal/Intrapsychic reciprocal.)
- Intrapsychic to Intergroup:
  - —American Nazis and Ku Klux Klan are usually persons with poor self-images, weak feelings of self-worth.
- Intergroup to Intrapsychic:
  - —Ku Klux Klan teaching white children to fear and hate Blacks.
- International to Intrapsychic:
  - —American veterans of Vietnamese war with recurring nightmares, psychological (marital, job) problems because of unresolved guilt feelings.
- Intergroup to International:
  - —American Jews' support of Israel and its policies.
  - —American Blacks' opposition to South African policies, especially apartheid.
- International to Intergroup:
  - —"Hardhat"/college student conflict over Vietnamese war.
  - —Protests of America's role in El Salvador.

ARENAS OF CONFLICT


INTERNATIONAL
INTERGROUP
INTERPERSONAL
INTRA-PSYCHIC

- The 4 "ARENAS OF CONFLICT" INTERPENETRATE, FROM THE SMALLER TO THE LARGER AND VICE-VERSA.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Thank you very much, Dr. Cloud.

Now, I have been saying to members of the administration that the Peace Academy can be built and established and operate at less than one-tenth the cost of a single B–1 bomber. So build 99 B–1 bombers, if we must, but let us not build 100, and we have enough funds to keep the Academy going for 20 years.

We will now hear from Rev. Jonathan Barton, from New Jersey, Council of Churches, Youth Division, Princeton, N.J.

Reverend **Barton**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am a United Presbyterian minister. In my testimony today I am speaking on behalf of the New Jersey Council of Churches, a broad base of denominations, across a wide religious spectrum. The New Jersey Council of Churches is on record as supporting the U.S. Academy of Peace and conflict resolution.

The New Jersey Council of Churches have been involved in conflicts related to urban plight, black/white relationships, prisons and crime, farmworkers and labor disputes. We have also expressed our concern for past and present national and international conflicts. As a council we explore ways to resolve these conflicts before they escalate into violence—a violence we, in New Jersey, know all too well. Although our primary focus is within our State, we feel that there is no greater concern than the current international tensions that threaten to escalate into violence, with a destruction our world has never seen before.

The world is far more unstable than it was a generation ago. This is true not only politically and economically, but socially as well. Wars within and between nations, widespread domestic turmoil, growing shortages of commodities basic to the sustenance of life, coupled with gross inequities between the world's rich and poor, are all part of the dramatic growth we see in the world's refugee population. In the late 1950's the number of homeless was so significant that the United Nations established a World Refugee Year. Now, 25 years later, there is no such "year." The problem of homelessness has become endemic, if not epidemic, with more refugees, homeless and displaced than ever recorded in history. Clearly worldwide economic, political, and social policies, with an excessive availability of arms and the tools of militancy, have resulted in an age of rootlessness never before experienced by the world's people. The growth in the numbers of refugees will most certainly continue unless the basic causes of unrest and conflict are addressed. In New Jersey, we have felt the results of these conflicts as refugees from Indochina, Haiti, El Salvador, and Cuba have sought to make a new home in our State. We have also witnessed a growing concern for peace across our State in the move for a "mutual nuclear freeze," a question that will be on our ballot this fall. The New Jersey Council of Churches, therefore, agrees with the finding of the commission that: "The United States today has no interest greater than international peace. Creating the U.S. Academy of Peace is a timely, useful, and necessary investment for the Nation and for the world."

As a Presbyterian, my denomination has been vocal in its effort as "peacemaker." We have commissioned each of our churches to study peacemaking, and how we can become more effective agents of peace in our homes, our communities, in our Nation, and in the world. My responsibilities in the church are in the areas of world hunger, peace, and justice. The church has come to see the integral relationship between these three areas. I am, therefore, encouraged to see that the commission, in its findings, related peace not only to the absence of war, but peace as social justice as well.

I am not, as the list reflects, part of the youth division in Princeton, N.J., but as I do travel across New Jersey I have the opportunity to talk to many young people who are junior and senior high and college age, and we normally will begin our time together by fantasizing about the year 2000. "Where are you going to be? Will you have kids?" All of their hopes and dreams.

What is the world going to look like just a few years from now? Before that conversation goes on for very long, someone inevitably says, "Does it really matter? No one is going to be here anyway."

All of their hopes and dreams are dashed on the rocks. There is tremendous tension and anguish hanging in every corner of the room.

Senator, if there is anything I can leave with you today, it is that the hopes and dreams of our youth are being destroyed * * * if not by the actual destruction of bombs, by the belief that they will surely fall within our lifetime. All of this is accepted, and seen as the best that we can possibly expect * * * and that we become content with it. It is a kind of sickness, a stunting that we all share now, and we become so inured that we do not take notice.

Instead of hope being developed, I see apathy and cynicism. There is an institutionalization of the philosophy—"Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we may die." This can become a self-fulfilling prophecy, and we need to restore a sense of the future, to restore hope; and the Peace Academy can begin the process of restoration.

Of course, the Peace Academy will not solve all of the conflicts, and certainly will not do it overnight. But it is a beginning, the lighting of a candle, for which it has taken over 200 years to find the match.

The time is late, the challenges are great. You have the opportunity to light such a candle of hope, and I trust you and I and the people of the world, with God's grace, will never let that candle go out.

In closing this day's hearing, I recall the words of danger and challenge which, ever since they were first spoken by Moses, have reverberated throughout human history: "I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore, choose life, that you and your descendants may live."

Thank you very much.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Thank you, Reverend Barton, for your most moving statement. I might respond by paraphrasing George Bernard Shaw in that the progress of mankind is advanced, not so much by those who see things as they are, and ask why, but more by those who see things as they ought to be, and ask why not.

So I am glad so many of you have joined us today in response to that question, why not. Why not?

Thank you. [Applause.]

There are others in the audience who have indicated that while they are not scheduled to speak, they would like to testify, and I would like now to call upon Ms. Miyo Hayashi, National Peace Academy Campaign, Steering/Action Committee, Chicago, Ill.

STATEMENT OF MIYO HAYASHI, NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY CAMPAIGN, STEERING/ACTION COMMITTEE, ILLINOIS CONSULTATION ON ETHNICITY IN EDUCATION AND MENTAL HEALTH TASK FORCE, UNITED NATIONS REFORM, NUCLEAR OVERKILL MORATORIUM [NOMOR], WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL, HYDE PARK PEACE COUNCIL, BUDDHIST TEMPLE OF CHICAGO

Ms. **Hayashi.** I would like to thank the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities, because I deal with conflict resolution with the three groups, and involved in international relations.

I was at the last preparatory session for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women's Conference, 1980 which was sponsored by the State Department. I dialoged on world order and interdependency points of view from a social—economic, political, ecological, philosophical, cultural perspective.

My testimony is "Educating for Peace," using the wrong premise from a 180-degree opposite premise perception.

Time machine: Turning back the clock—"Time is only a clock." Greek philosopher, Plato (427 BC to 347 BC) at 40 started the first academy which lasted for 900 years.

Ever since ancient time man has been searching for the truth. Of all the species on Earth, man has yet to find his credibility on Earth. He has tried to conquer instead of living harmoniously with all beings on Earth—sentient and nonsentient beings.

You might call this hearing a beginning—the second time around. To discover what we have not learned as beings with intelligence on this Earth.

Premised based on military/industrial complex and having a dichotomy (schizophrenic-either/or) security/sovereignty perception of this world.

Right view—social, economic, political, philosophical, ecological, cultural interdependency. All equal in our unequalness [uniqueness], vive la difference, all numero uno in interdependency.

And change will take its course as the Sun rises in the east and sets in the west if oneself finds his/her government oppressing—violently or nonviolently.

Change is the law of life moment by moment. Now is the past and future always in flux.

WORKING ON WRONG PREMISE

In the Western culture thought/perception/premise, we shackle ourselves with ego/label/barrier/illusion—either, or dichotomy.

In the Eastern culture thought/perception/premise, we unshackle ourselves to understand the total-whole—one as many, many as one in interdependency. Ying and Yang-opposites are one in defining opposites. You cannot define north without the south and south without the north. We do not see the forest/world as one—only the trees/people in a dichotomy sense. Black or white, young or old, good or bad, democracy or communisms, et cetera.

During the United Nations Reform Conference at the University of Chicago, Center for Continuing Education, Henry Steele Cammager was the keynote speaker. I asked Prof. John Logue of the Villanova University, World Order Research Institute this question: "In the context of continuity and change in premise, the Club of Rome is saying R.I.O. (reshaping the international order in terms of interdependency)—one interdependency is international interdependency—one and the same—(social, economic, political, ecological, cultural). "Are sovereignty and security obsolete concepts?" He answered, "yes," but qualified it, of course. When intellect is ego-based oneself does not see the world as being one in interdependency, only either/or dichotomy (sovereignty/security). One/ego or national/ego.

During the series of panel discussion sponsored by Japan America Society, "Japan Today" for the months of April to June 1979, I also asked Prof. Tasuko Asano, political scientist, International College of Commerce and Economics, the same question and asked him if Japan would take the world leadership in terms of interdependency because it was relative to her position and premise. He answered the above question the same, but was nonplus, and had not thought of the other question.

When mankind uses ego/label/barrier/illusion as a crutch he will never take responsibility for this world because of either/or dichotomy—sovereignty/security.

The inner change of oneself will bring about the outer change in society in interdependency.

There is no security in this world today, we have let the genie out of the bottle. We are at a point of no return.

The recent summer report from the World Without War Council, United Nations Special Session on Disarmament: "Pluses and Minuses." A subtler and potentially more farreaching achievement was that those present began to think and talk about international security than just national security. The nuclear threat is a danger to all humanity, and no one is safe while it exists. As U Thant once put it, "No man can save himself or his people unless he identifies with and works for the whole of mankind."

Einstein said when he was asked if he was optimistic for this world. "Yes, but if mankind fails to find a harmonious solution, then there will be a disaster on a dimension beyond anyone's imagination." This was in interview with Karsh, famous photographer of outstanding leaders and thinkers.

Roy Larson, Sun Times religious writer, Saturday, November 11, 1970 wrote—in a recent speech Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations declared that if human imagination and course do not come to grips with the major problems of the world these problems in 10 years will have reached such a staggering proportion that they will be beyond our capacity to control them.

If this assessment is right, then neither the church nor the world can afford the self-indulgent luxury ot a secure age in a time when the whole world is a security risk.

As the Reverend James Mack of Chicago, a prominent black churchman said: "The church is deluded indeed if it thinks it can achieve stability on a volcano."

Man is a creature who has yet completed his own evolution, who has not yet succeeded in becoming fully man, and it is this struggle that will determine the future (if any) of the species, more than any political, technical or military developments.

I would like to cut it here.

Thank you.

Senator **Matsunaga**. Yes, and the remainder of your statement will be included in the record.

Ms. **Hayashi**. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Hayashi follows:]

U.S. COMMISSION ON PROPOSALS FOR THE
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION
2100 M Street N.W., Suite 714
Washington, D.C. 20037

Statement: Miyo Hayashi, National Peace Academy Campaign, Steering/Action Committee. Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education and Mental Health Task Force. United Nations Reform, Nuclear Overkill Moratorium (NOMOR), World Without War Council, Hyde Park Peace Council. Buddhist Temple of Chicago.

EDUCATING FOR PEACE

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WHEN MANKIND USES EGO/LABEL/BARRIER/ILLUSION AS A "CRUTCH" HE WILL NEVER TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS WORLD BECAUSE OF EITHER/OR DICHOTOMY . . . SOVEREIGNTY/SECURITY.

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CAUSE AND EFFECT

Dr. Kenneth E. Boulding, Professor of Economics, University of Colorado, wrote in the United Nations Association Year Book 1977 (Chicago) in the two-page ad taken by Mary Liebman (former Executive Director of the Council for the Department of Peace) for the National Peace Academy Campaign which listed my name. He said, "peace is the skillful management of conflict. It has to be learned and organized. In the past generations, considerable progress has been made in the social sciences, in spite of their starvation rations, in the development of a discipline of conflict management." Dr. J. David Singer, professor of political science at the University of Michigan also wrote, "Despite considerable belief to the contrary, not all conflicts between nations results from incompatible interests, or even from erroneous perceptions of one another. A major element is the failure to predict the outcomes of our moves and counter-moves in foreign policy. We just do not know what kinds of immediate behaviors and longer-run consequences are likely to result from our policies, as we thus stimulate, all too often, outcomes quite different from those we'd hope to stimulate. Another serious element in conflict and its escalation is the reluctance to make certain decisions precisely because the consequences seem so uncertain. This combination or error rate and immobilization is not completely inherent in the nature of international politics."

WHEN YOU STEP ON THE TOES OF ANOTHER FOR TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS THAT PERSON WILL RETALIATE. AND WHAT WOULD BE THE NORMAL SEQUENCE TO THIS CAUSE/EFFECT RATIONAL. OUR ARROGANT FOREIGN RELATION POLICY/EGO . . . KEEPS US FROM SEEING THE SOLUTION.

PSYCHOLOGY EAST/WEST

In American psychology oneself is studied from mainly two forces. "First Force" is behaviorism . . . from John B. Watson to B.F. Skinner with its basically mechanistic view of oneself. In this view there is no room for such ideas as will, mind, conscience, imagination. All behavior is explained as a matter of how people have been conditioned to respond to the stimuli around oneself. "Second Force" is psychoanalysis with its view of the pervasive influence of sexuality on human behavior. Psychoanalysis sees the human psyche as a kind of hydraulic system, the pressure in which are determined by history . . . especially the early psycho-sexual experience of the individual.

There is a prevailing force in the eastern concept of defining oneself . . . the "Third Force." Little known Prescott Lecky, an instructor in psychology at Columbia University from 1924-34, was the western proponent of this "Third Force." He was favorably disposed towards psychoanalysis then to behaviorism . . . however he felt that both schools of thought were in error in studying human behavior solely from the "outside."; He insisted that oneself must be understood from the "inside." Oneself must be "selfish" to understand and study oneself first before one can respond to a meaningful relationship with others. A good parent starts at this point . . . to develop good self-concept!

Edward H. Levi, when president of the University of Chicago, criticized the U.S. Office of Education report that urged more universities concerned with practical application of learning while speaking at the inauguration of Dalin H. Oaks as president of Brigham Young Univeristy. He added that universities are great because they are part of the "tradition which seeks to elevate the minds of man . . . to enlarge the powers of the mind through the creation and possession of the intellectual disciplines and skills . . . to engage in the pursuit of "truth." HOWEVER, man in higher education in the pursuit of truths . . . has not . . . understood the truth about himself . . . and so the debauchery of man and his manipulation of his environment. He confines himself in an egotistic straight-jacket.

FAMOUS SEMATICIST, S.I. HAYAKAWA WROTE, "WHAT IS THE DEFINITION OF SEMANTICS?" HE SAID, "GENERAL SEMANTICS IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF STUDYING LANGUAGE, BUT OF STUDYING ONE'S SELF AND ONE'S OWN REACTION." BY APPLYING THIS RULE TO THE BOOK, THE READER IS PAINLESSLY EDUCATED.

At the recent Consultation of the Psychology of Indochinese Refugees: American and Indochinese Perspectives on Health and Helping (well-being and self-image) with the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education, Mental Health Task Force . . . the difference in cross-cultural understanding was given. It took two years to develop this consultation and to get this point across. I didn't get any help from the Japanese Americans because they didn't know what I was speaking about. Ms. Rosalyn Carter, her interest in Mental Health, will be receiving the consultation report shortly.

Not too long ago I met Dr. Eugene T. Gendlin, PH.D., associate professor, Department of Behavioral Science - Committee on Methodology of Behavior Research, University of Chicago. He wrote a book on "Focusing" (Zazen in Buddhism) and experiential psychology. In an article in community paper he titled it "approaching oneself." To this I said I would title it "Awakening Oneself to the Truth." The difference between B.F. Skinner (animal behavior) is human behavior (intellect-introspection) to define oneself . . . who am I? . . . what is on being human? . . . what is life?" So now the Association of Humanistic Psychology is focusing. Osel Tendzin claims to be the first American empowered as a Tibetan Buddhist spokesman by Vajracarya, the venerable Chogyam Trungpa, Rinpoche, leading exponent of Buddhist Teaching in the West and 50 Study Center in our country. If you read the BRAIN AND MIND BULLETIN (frontiers of research theory and practice) you will find Professor Prescott Lecky was getting at the truth.

"TRUTH" FROM THIS POINT (ONESELF-INTELLECT/INTROSPECTION) IS NOT LOOKED NOR UNDERSTOOD FROM A DICHOTOMY (SCHIZOPHRENIC) POINT-OF-VIEW.

"GOETHE" SAID, "YOU DON'T HAVE TO GO AROUND THE WORLD TO SEE THE SKY IS BLUE."

THEN "TRUTH" IN ACTUALITY IS WHAT HUMANKIND HAS MANIFESTED IN THIS WHOLE WORLD IN THE NAME OF CIVILIZATION, PROGRESS, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND CHURCH. AND WHAT DO YOU SEE?

A DIFFERENT WORLD

In August 1978 article written by creative/innovative/think tank, Richard Buckminster Fuller called, "the basic state of world affairs today" he says, "a third of a century after Malthus, Darwin attributed biological evolution to "survival only of the fittest species and of the individual within the species." Though Malthus denied any economic significance in his evolution theory, the economics insisted that superior physical fitness obviously governed economic survival as well. (People multiply faster then food). Karl Marx accepted both the working class is the fittest to survive. They know how to use the tools and cultivate the fields . . . the wealthy are parasites." This inaugurated the concept of two worlds around political classes.

As a consequence of Malthus' and Darwin's discoveries, all the great political ideologies have ever since adopted prime philosophy which says "You may not like our political system, but we are convinced that we have the fairest, most logical and ingenious method of coping with inherest terrestial inadequacy of life support, but because there are others who disagree diametrically regarding the method of coping, it can only be determined by trial of armed might which political system is fittest to survive." Survival of the physically fittest became the basis for national department of defense and prior access to science and technology in the use of all highest performance material, brains, and instruments and production tools.

This is the reason Russia and the United States for the last thirty years have jointly copropriated over 400 billion dollars annually to buy more effective destruction of one another.

THEN THE MIS-PERCEPTION/PREMISE CAME ABOUT WHEN PSYCHOLOGY (SCIENCE) DIDN'T BOTHER TO LISTEN TO WHAT LECHY HAD TO SAY . . . SO SCIENCE WAS INCOMPLETE AND THE SCHIZOPHRENIC VIEW. PSYCHOLOGY DEFINING "ONESELF" FROM THE "INSIDE WOULD HAVE PRODUCED A "BEAUTIFUL WORLD".

Being Intellectual more than Intelligence by Charles Leroux interviewing Professor Edward Shils, University of Chicago. Recently honored by the National Endowment for the Humanities by being selected to give the prestigious Jefferson Lecture Series . . . The Role of Intellectual In Society. Has intelligence really increased? Certainly our age doesn't have more geniuses than Athen in the 4th and 5th centuries B.C.

"ALL THIS STUFF about getting touch with your emotions and your body is an intellectual form of anti-intellectuality. There is a great tradition of the anti-intellectual, the noble savage uncorrupted by civilization, the soul undamaged by reason." says, Professor Edward Shils.

Distinguished contributors to the BRAIN AND MIND BULLETIN like Dr. Jerome Frank, John Hopkins; Buckminster Fuller, Association for Humanistic Psychology; and Max Lerner, historian and author of THE CIVILIZATION OF AMERICA write from the cross-cultural point-of-view.

Congressman Dante Fascell, Florida, chairman of the International Operation Sub-Committee expressed this cross-cultural point when I had a chance to speak to him about the Conflict Resolution point-of-view at the hearing.

Max Lerner writes, "our cultural crisis is disconnectedness. A rapid acceleration of changes in society and in ourselves be made. By transforming ourselves we transform our culture and vice-versa. We can bring about synthesis of the polarized antithesis.

Then there is a tremendous vacuum and mis-perception/premise and we need the ACADEMY . . . where exchange of cross-cultural dialogue is free/flowing.

ACADEMY should belong to everyone.

The concept of ARCHITECTUAL DESIGN should incorporate heaven, sentient and non-sentient beings, and earth living in harmony as ONE.

Works of Haya Akegarasu - Contemporary - Reknown Buddhist Scholar
    WORLD OF FLOWERS
    WHO AM I

Dr. Eugene T. Gendlin, Ph.D.
    FOCUSING - Everet House

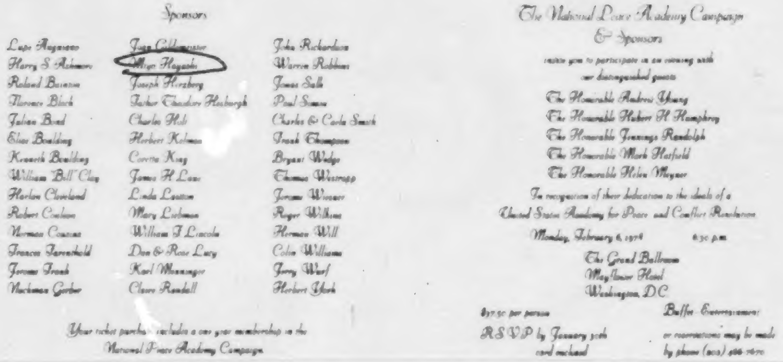
"Why Do Psychotherapists Often Fail?" - Chicago Sun-Times 3/12/78

"Inward Bound in Search of 'the real me'" - Chicago Sun-Times 9/5/78
Ellen Goodman - columnist "Princess" a Lesson for Both Sides" - Ellen Goodman - columnist
BRAIN AND MIND BULLETIN - Frontiers of Research Theory and Practice
P.O. Box 42211
Los Angeles, Calif. 90042

Miyo Hayashi
1320 E. 48th Street
Chicago, Illinois
60615

Elected chairperson for the RESTORATION OF THE JAPANESE GARDEN IN JACKSON PARK - Wooded Island. Historical significance: Columbian Exposition - 1893. Garden presented to city. Shaku Soen (Buddhist Scholar) met Paul Carus.

"WOODED ISLAND COMMITTEE MEETS" - Hyde Park Herald
Letter from Acting Commissioner, Department of Planning, City and Community Deveopment, Martin R. Murphy.



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The Honorable Hubert H Humphrey
The Honorable Jennings Randolph
The Honorable Mark Hatfield
The Honorable Helen Meyner
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Senator Matsunaga. Well, thank you all ever so much for coming to the hearings. I think you have all joined in a great beginning with the subcommittee, and I am very optimistic so that we will have the hearings printed, and those of you who wish to have copies may leave your name with the clerk of the committee.

Well, if you are within easy reach of the Capitol, May 12 is our next big day, when we will have our markup session.

So thank you one and all, and the subcommittee stands in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator Matsunaga. The subcommittee will briefly come to order again.

Some of you may have heard in the background during this morning's hearing, the clicking of a typewriter going. Well, that was in fact a computer system hooked on to the University of Hawaii, and the proceedings of the hearings were being communicated directly to the University of Hawaii, and at least two of those were present at the university, sent in their response.

One of them from the Executive Council of the Church of the Crossroads, and they expressed complete support, and were very much impressed with the proceedings. So I would ask unanimous consent that these communications be included in the record.

[The following material was received for the record:]

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUYE BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES ON S.1889, A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE, APRIL 21, 1982.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to submit testimony to this distinguished Committee.

The issue before us today is whether the Senate should enact legislation to create the United States Academy of Peace. The idea has been thoroughly explored by the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. This Commission, empanelled in 1979 by authority of P.L.95-561, has carefully researched the merits of establishing a Peace Academy. Eight of its nine members concluded that the idea was both worthy and timely. I support this conclusion and thus will not repeal all of the points which are so aptly made in the Commission's report to the President and Congress.

What concerns me is that the concept of peace is taken for granted. Rather than focus on norms, we often pay attention to deviations from those norms. In the field of justice, the law becomes evident when a rule is broken and sanctions are imposed. In the area of international relations, the focus is on terrorism, revolution and war. Little attention is given to what is going right. Countries without conflicts do not appear on our agenda or in the evening news.

STATEMENT CONTINUED
PAGE TWO

Most of us would agree that there are clear and imminent dangers to our continued existence on this planet. The threat of a nuclear catastrophe and the horrors of chemical warfare confront us every day. In this imperfect world we have perforce adopted an attitude of peace through strength. But the emphasis is usually on strength--military technology, defense appropriations, and our ability to wage war. In so doing, we can forget why all this military hardware exists in the first place.

The sole dissenter to the Commission's report complained that "peace" is not a distinct field of learning. He, therefore, questioned whether it merited its own academy--especially a federally-funded one. He further argued that 80 colleges and universities currently have departments that offer peace studies. As far as I am concerned, the very fact that peace is such a broad concept that it is taught in such disparate settings is the most compelling reason for dedicating an institution to its study. I thus think it is appropriate for Congress to establish and fund an Academy of Peace in our Nation's Capital.

This Academy would serve to define the field and focus our attention on what we want--peace--instead of what we do not want--war. It would bring together individuals from a wide number of countries, backgrounds, and experiences to address the elusive goal of peace. The Academy would be more than just a symbolic undertaking. It would establish a central clearing house for works devoted to the concept of peace, as well as the pragmatic lessons of war dissension, and civil strife. More importantly, it would help disseminate this knowledge to both younger generations and people from abroad. The Academy would thus be a vital institution, drawing together those who know and care, consolidating our knowledge, and educating the wider public.

I have high hopes for the proposed United States Academy of Peace and trust that this Committee will give it favorable consideration.

Thank you for your time and attention.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRANK H. MURKOWSKI
Before Senate Committee on Labor and
Human Resources' Hearing on S. 1889,
The National Peace Academy Bill.
April 21, 1982

MR. CHAIRMAN. It is a pleasure to express my general support for S. 1889, legislation to establish the National Academy of Peace. I have also had the opportunity to cosponsor this bill and join in signing a letter to President Reagan requesting that he support S. 1889.

I am pleased to join with an increasing number of Alaskans and other Americans who are expressing concern about the spiraling arms race and the rise in international tension in recent years. While I strongly believe that we must protect this nation's security by maintaining a strong military capability, we must also not lose sight of the importance of maintaining peace and stability in the world. President Reagan has taken important steps to modernize our military forces after a decade of inaction. I support this policy. Nevertheless, I cannot accept the concept of nuclear warfare on any scale.

I believe that the Peace Academy can provide a unique, visible vehicle for the study of how to best protect this country's security and at a cost which is small in comparison to our planned defense expenditures. After a year of nationwide hearings and study of the proposed Academy, the National Peace Academy Commission concluded that a focused Federal investment in research on the causes of war is necessary to stimulate a broad range of Government, private, and voluntary activities in international peace endeavors.

I generally concur with the recommendation of the Commission, and I am pleased that this hearing will provide all interested parties with a chance to express their different points of view on S. 1889.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

May 11, 1982

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter is to present the Department of State's comments on S.1889, a bill which would establish a United States Academy of Peace.

The Department supports the development of peace research and conflict resolution. Indeed, the Department encourages the work of private institutions, foundations, universities, international and non-governmental organizations active in this field. The results of such research are brought to the attention of, and used by, foreign policy practitioners. In fact, conflict resolution theories and techniques are incorporated in courses offered by the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute.

The Department, however, does not support the passage of S.1889, inasmuch as it would create a new quasi-governmental institution and bureaucracy complete with "buildings and grounds", to perform a function which is already being handled by the private sector. Although it might be helpful if university programs or private "think tanks" were to address the issue of peace negotiation and conflict resolution, we do not believe that it is necessary for the Federal government to establish an academy such as that proposed.

The Department fully recognizes that a better sharing of research results and better coordination among existing programs would be desirable. Both these results and an increase in the volume of such work could be achieved through a judicious use of only a small portion of the funding

The Honorable
Orrin G. Hatch, Chairman,
Committee on Labor and Human Resources,
United States Senate.

contemplated to initially fund the proposed Peace Academy. Continued encouragement of a variety of organizations can produce these results and keep policymakers abreast of the latest in conflict resolution theory and practice without the construction of a bricks-and-mortar institution.

One of the prime strengths of current research in this area is the wide variety of approaches and proposed solutions. The research community's ability to educate is so effective and fertile because it reflects the diversity of the American character. As Mr. Carleton Coon, former Deputy Director of the Foreign Service Institute, testified before the Subcommittee on International Operations, Committee on International Relations (January 25, 1978): "It is such an enormously wide and varied field and there is so much room for creative thinking and innovation that we feel that this creativity and innovation is better expressed in a thousand different universities and institutions across the range of our country than in one centrally funded, essentially bureaucratic institute."

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Powell A. Moore

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations

April 12, 1982
Written Testimony of...

William F. Lincoln
Former Federal Commissioner
U.S. Peace Academy Commission
P.O. Box 481
29 Wildwood Street
So Dennis, Mass. 02660

William F. Lincoln

TO: U.S. Senator Robert Stafford
Chairman
U.S. Senate SubCommittee
Arts, Education, and the Humanities

Attention: Tricia Faith

RE: S 1889, To Establish the U.S. Peace Academy.

Mr. Chairman,

I ask that this written testimony be included in the official transcript of these Hearings of April 21, 1982.

My rather brief comments will be confined primarily to the monetary considerations for the proposed academy:

- the need to increase the proposed budget.
- the need to reduce the recommended appropriations. for the initial two year start up period.

Additionally, however, I will also crisply address the following items:

- Merits of the Proposed Academy.
- Arguments Against the Proposed Academy.
- What the Proposed Academy Must Not Be or Become.
- Strongly Urged Ammendments to the Legislation.
    - a name change of the proposed academy.
    - more attention to intranational concerns.
    - an affirmative action statement.
    - assurance of regional site centers.
    - interplay with other federal agencies.

Hopefully, the brevity of my comments will reduce neither the seriousness in which they are made nor the attention which the SubCommittee Members and Staff will give these comments.

Please refer to the Commission's Report, pp. 217-225 for my official response to the findings and recommendations of the Commission on which I served.

I. Monetary Considerations for the Proposed Academy.

May it please the members and staff to review the Commission's

Report, pp. 68-69 (*Consideration of Costs*).

The proposed budget in the legislative bill is as follows:

. $15 million capitalization fund.
. $ 6 million year one for operations.
. $10 " " two " "
. $15 " " three" "
. $20 " " four " "

IA. The Need to *INCREASE* the Proposed Budget.

The Academy's proposed operating budgets should be increased by a multiple factor of three in order to provide and demonstrate serious intent and practice. Such action would increase the Academy's yearly operating budget in year four from $20 million in year four to $60 million dollars including no less than four regional site centers to be affiliated with major universites. Furthermore, such action might be honestly justified since the Academy is in the interest of national and gobal security.

IB. The Need to *DECREASE* the Recommended Appropriations for the Initial Two Year Start Up Period.

Perhaps immediate appropriations should be limited to $1.5 to $2 million dollars each year for the next two years instead of what is currently proposed: $15 million capitalization, $6 million year one for operations, $10 million year two of operations thus equaling $31 million in contrast to $3-4 million as suggested above. Such a recommendation would hold down federal budget increases until the economy nears fuller recovery, and can be honestly justified because the necessary two year start up period for the Academy does not warrant heavy expenditures.

This initial implementation period would include:

. Appointment of the Board of Governors
. Selection of a Chancellor
. Hiring of Implementation Staff...
    . site selection with emphasis upon economic conversion of existing federal properties and facilities.
    . acquisition contracts.
    . renovation planning, contracts, and execution.
    . selection of faculty.
    . curriculum development.
    . criteria development for student selection.
    . etc.

IC. Other Matters Related to the Academy's Operations Budget.

1. Legislation and Appropriations should assure actual operations of the Academy in 1985.

2. Challenges to the private sector and general public for donations should be made for the establishment of permanent endowments for various programs, academic chairs, and specific items related to general operations. America's people should have the opportunity and responsibility to assist in the development of the Academy. One concept of U.S. Peace Bonds and/or IRS deductions was prematurely dismissed by the Commission.

II. Merits of the Proposed Academy.

The Commission's Report must be reviewed by SubCommittee Members and Staff.

We of this nation currently need a two track system to insure and assure national and world security:

- A responsible military capability to deter aggression.
- A diverse conflict resolution capacity which will permit inter as well as intra national disputes to be resolved equitably, efficiently, and cost effectively.

Similarly we need a living functional symbol to remind us and the world that we are seriously sincere in pursuing these ends and means. The proposed Academy would be a federally charted non profit mid career graduate school serving all sectors of our society.

Such an Academy would compliment and suppliment the peace-keeping emphasis of our military, and is so recognized by Lt. General (Retired) Andrew Goodpaster who last year retired as Superintendent of West Point.

III. Regarding Arguments Against the Proposed Academy.

The rejection of the Academy concept by friend Representative John Ashbrook and by the Georgetown and Fletcher Schools of Diplomacy do not hold. Such arguments have even been rejected by the testimony of two original non supporters of the Academy concept.

- Richard Pipes, Harvard University
  See Commission Report, pp. 141, 144, 63.
- Alan Millett
  See Commission Report, pp. 36-38.

. The schools of diplomacy fear an unwarranted jurisdictional dispute when in fact the Academy would enhance their prestige. However, the Academy would not primarily be a school for diplomats.

. The so called private educational efforts in peace studies by colleges and universities are minimal. Once the two or three departments at Stanford, Syracuse, and Kent State are counted the remainder of schools involved have only one or two faculty members -- often part time -- giving attention to this subject.

. No duplication of efforts could exist since the purpose and focus of the proposed Academy are quite different, and are directed to different audiences, and involve research and practical training in contrast to theoretical teaching via an examination of literature.

. Any opposition by State Department personnel is not clearly understood since the proposed Academy must not and cannot be either a policy setting or intervention agency. I earnestly hope these restrictions will become part of legislation.

. As Dr. Richard Pipes himself testified, such an Academy (if ever founded) should be an extension of the federal government. Such federal initiative and participation would be appropriate, right, and symbolic. See Commission Report, pp. 141, 144, 63.

. Conflict resolution is not synonomous with compromise or capitulation.

. Cost effectiveness is assured. The proposed budget is indeed inadequate, but a multiple factor of three for the fourth operating budget -- from 20 million to 60 million -- would still be minimal, especially when related to the interests of national and global security. See Commission Report,

. Senators Hatfield [(R), Oregon], Jepson [(R), IW], Nunn [(D) GA], Long [(D), LA], and Stennis [(D), MS] would probably be asked specifically to express their interests as to why they are cosponsors of the legislation. Indeed all Senators should be asked for I trust they believe in the two track system as stated in II above.

IV. What the Proposed Academy *Must Not* Be or Become.

My fuller comments on this matter already appear in the Commission's Report, See pp. 170-171.

Here I shall merely identify areas as I did on pp. 219-220:

The Academy must...

not be an intervention agency.

not be a national policy-setting agency.

not be an institutionalized adversary to the military.

not be regarded as an alternative to the military academies or war colleges which give emphasis to peacekeeping activities.

not be an effort to create vocational elitism.

not be an alternative which we think private education is providing or could provide or should provide or will provide to the degree necessary.

Again, the Academy is to be the living functional symbol needed which will not only provide legitimacy to the field but advance it as well.

V. Strongly Urged Ammendments to the Legislation.

1. Seriously, the names offered for the proposed Academy might be ammended to be the U.S. Academy of/for Peace and Justice for such is a more complete statement of America's mission, and better links the inter and intra national concerns than suggested by any other name. See Commission Report, pp. 221-222. This is more than a semantic suggestion and concern.

2. A concise statement might be offered in order that the legislation will assure that intra national concerns are not neglected. See Commission Report, pp. 222-223. The Academy will have little credibility at home or abroad if such coupling of both sectors is not complete.

3. A concise statement might be offered in order that the legislation restricts the Academy from becoming either an intervention or policy setting agency by either institutional policy or practice.

4. A concise statement might be offered in order that the Academy will share a cooperative interplay with the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice but stated in such a way as not to infringe upon the operative autonomy or academic freedom and general credibility of the Academy.

5. The first regional site center to be affiliated with a major university might be established at the same time that the central campus is established in order to assure the decentralization concept in initial practice and in the future. Most supporters of the Academy contend its primary site should be located between New York City and Washington, D.C. for very practical purposes and reasons. Consequently the west coast would be the appropriate location for the first regional site center. See Commission Report, p. 223.

6. Budget and appropriation consideration as already discussed in I. above.

7. Surely it is most appropriate to urge that an affirmative broad, specific, and complete action statement be included in the legislation to prevent real and perceived discrimination against faculty, staff, or students in selection to or treatment at the Academy.

VI. Conclusion.

I do not think it is inappropriate for me to mention that such an Academy is an appropriate legacy to all those who pursue durable and lasting just peace for our nation and the world. My concern, however, is for advocates of international peace who do not acknowledge the inter relationships between inter and intra national concerns of this and all nations: the political as well as environmental and economic realities which threaten the human rights of everyone; the threat to this nation and the world beyond a nuclear holocaust which mst be prevented; the full complexities of developing a realistic peace now and an improved peace continually. If the Administration is successful in significantly reducing the number of Soviet, NATO, and American missiles the world will still be aware that too many other nations are not bound by such agreements.

If the threat of World War III or nuclear weapons were not today's issues the proposed Academy would still be needed. The ends and means of modern war are and social unrest are tragically expensive in every respect for everyone. Without doubt peace with justice is a conservative concept in contrast to the radical thoughts of unjustified war and violence.

Finally, I hope these comments are received in the same spirit in which they have been written -- for freedom, justice, order, and peace. Hopefully the above content will be of assistance to you in providing a recommendation to the Senate.

Sincerely,

William F. Lincoln

William F. Lincoln
Former Federal Commissioner
U.S. Peace Academy Commission

P.O. Box #481
29 Wildwood Street
So. Dennis, Mass. 02660

WFL:pjs

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Office of the President

April 16, 1982

Cable Address "Dulac"

Honorable Robert Stafford
4230 Dirksen Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Stafford:

I write in support of the proposal for a Peace Academy that will come up for hearings before your Subcommittee on April 21.

In an era when world military expenditures equal the annual income of the poorest half of the world's population and at a point in history when the world spends 2,300 times more for military activities than for international peacekeeping, the idea of a Peace Academy is certainly one whose time has come.

Too long have we thought of peace in negative terms of deterrence instead of in positive terms of justice. Too long have we harbored the unspoken but nonetheless harmful assumption that human behavior cannot be changed; that war, but not peace, can be planned and waged; that institutions founded to advance national goals by violence are realistic and institutions founded to direct peace initiatives are pipedreams.

The establishment of an institution that will conduct an ongoing program of training, research, and public information in peacemaking skills makes great sense to me and I hope you and your colleagues will give it careful consideration.

All best wishes.

Cordially yours,

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President

The Senate
The Eleventh Legislature
of the
State of Hawaii

HONOLULU, HAWAII

April 19, 1982

Senator Robert T. Stafford
Chairman
Senate Subcommittee on Education,
Arts, and Humanities
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Stafford:

I transmit herewith a copy of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 42, which was adopted by the Eleventh Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1982.

Respectfully,

T. David Woo, Jr.

T. David Woo, Jr.
Clerk of the Senate

(To be made one and seven copies)
THE SENATE
ELEVENTH LEGISLATURE, 19 82
STATE OF HAWAII

S.C.R. NO. 42
S.D. 1

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

REQUESTING PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE.

WHEREAS, the world today is increasingly troubled by international strife; and

WHEREAS, technological advances have enabled international conflict to have potentially disastrous consequences for all humanity; and

WHEREAS, the systematic use of trained personnel and applied research in the resolution of international conflict, backed by increased public awareness of practicable alternatives, could save this nation and others countless billions of dollars and untold human suffering; and

WHEREAS, Senator Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawaii with 52 bi-partisan co-sponsors has introduced S. 1889 to establish a United States Academy of Peace, and similar legislation H.R. 5088 has been introduced in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, the legislation provides that the Academy should be an independent institution to specifically train Americans and other persons in the art of conflict resolution, undertake research, and initiate information services affecting peacemaking; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Academy of Peace is empowered to develop an outreach program involving public and private institutions in various states and territories in its training, research, and public information activities; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate of the Eleventh Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1982, the House of Representatives concurring, that it urges Congress to enact legislation establishing a United States Academy of Peace; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that President Ronald Reagan is requested to give full support to the establishment of this National Academy of Peace immediately following passage of the legislation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that certified copies of this Concurrent Resolution be transmitted to Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Senator Robert T. Stafford, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Representative Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the International Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and to each member of Hawaii's delegation to the United States Congress.

HELÈNE H. HALE
Councilwoman

COUNTY COUNCIL
County of Hawaii
Hawaii County Building
Hilo, Hawaii 96720

March 9, 1982

Honorable Robert T. Stafford, Chairman
Subcommittee on Education, Arts & Humanities of
Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee
Dirkson Senate Office Bldg., Suite 4232
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Stafford:

We note that you will be holding hearings on Wednesday, April 21, 1982, on the United States Academy of Peace Act sponsored by Senator Spark Matsunaga. Our County Council has enthusiastically endorsed this proposal and we would like to have the enclosed resolution entered into the minutes.

In these days of world tension and uncertainty, we certainly hope that the United States Congress will take a positive step in the direction of peace by establishing this Academy.

Yours very truly,

Helene H Hale

Helēne H. Hale
COUNCILWOMAN, HAWAII COUNTY

Encl.

County of Hawaii–State of Hawaii

Resolution No. 93 81

WHEREAS, a most noble endeavor initiated by the United States of America proposing the establishment of a "United States Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution," appears close to reality; and

WHEREAS, a Federal Commission headed by Senator Spark Matsunaga, having heard from hundreds of witnesses during its twelve public hearings around the country, concluded that this National Conflict Resolution program could potentially save the American public billions of dollars, directly and indirectly each year through increased productivity, and more importantly, it could preclude the unnecessary loss of lives and property damage; and

WHEREAS, the Commission's report will be made public in a few months, and one of the major recommendations will be that the Academy would have its administrative center in Washington, D. C. located in an existing university complex to be complimented with 12 to 15 regional campuses situated around the nation; and

WHEREAS, such a planned format of regional centers is of great interest to the County of Hawaii since the University of Hawaii at Hilo would be an ideal institute and location for the planned undergraduate studies and professional training in conflict resolution; and

WHEREAS, the University of Hawaii at Hilo's assets and attractiveness of being in a small, less urban and tranquil community coupled with its multi-racial population of students and faculty, would be the kind of environment that could help make the program work.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE COUNTY OF HAWAII that it endorses the proposal for the establishment of a United States Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution and that one of its regional centers be located at the University of Hawaii at Hilo.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Clerk of the County of Hawaii transmit copies of this resolution to United States Senators, Spark M. Matsunaga, Mark O. Hatfield, Jenning Randolph, sponsors of the proposal; Stephen Mitchell, Chancellor, University of Hawaii at Hilo; and Fujio Matsuda, President, University of Hawaii, Manoa Campus.

Dated at Hilo, Hawaii, this 6th day of May, 1981.

INTRODUCED BY:

Helene H. Hale

Wataru Kawahara

COUNCIL MEMBERS, COUNTY OF HAWAII

COUNTY COUNCIL
County of Hawaii
Hilo, Hawaii

I hereby certify that the foregoing RESOLUTION was by the vote indicated to the right hereof adopted by the COUNCIL of the County of Hawaii on

May 6, 1981

ATTEST:

COUNTY CLERK

CHAIRMAN & PRESIDING OFFICER

ROLL CALL VOTE

	AYES	NOES	A/E
Dahlberg	X		
De Luz, III	X		
Domingo	X		
Fujii	X		
Hale	X		
Kawahara			X
Lai	X		
Schutte	X		
Chr. Yamashiro	X		
	8	0	1

Reference ____________

M.B. No. ____________

RESOLUTION NO. 93 81

Statement by Guthrie S. Birkhead, Dean, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University April 29, 1982

Many good ideas, like seeds with tough shells, must be hardy in order to survive until conditions are right for it to take root and grow. I believe that the concept of a U.S. Peace Academy is such an idea. It has had to wait until several necessary conditions converge. Now, we are at a stage where the need for such an Academy is particularly compelling and the knowledge and skills that can be conveyed through such an academy have reached a sufficient level that the effort is worthwhile. The Commission established by Congress has studied the possible needs for services that an Academy might provide and the possible resources to meet those needs. The Commission has assessed a range of organizational structures in the light of present resources and of the most important needs. The Commission has performed these tasks well and I support the proposed legislation.

As Dean of the Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, I can best contribute to these deliberations by making some observations about the experience we have had in work similar to that proposed for the Academy. In the light of that experience, I will comment upon the way in which the proposed Academy could relate to the work of the Maxwell School, thus other universities, the nation, and the world.

The special emphasis of the Maxwell School, since its inception in 1924, has been to study and teach about social issues so that we can deal with them in policy relevant ways. Our Public Administration Program has trained people for public service in state, local, and national agencies. The International Relations Program, and the Program of Nonviolent Conflict and Change have trained people for work in U.S. government service, work in non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and international governmental organizations. We have emphasized scholarly research on areas of public concern.

We have educated students to combine their general knowledge with particular information relevant to specific issues. We know that the knowledge and skills so developed can be effectively employed to cope with policy matters, by policy makers, evaluators, consultants, and critics. I have discussed the proposed U.S. Academy for Peace with colleagues at Syracuse University and we believe that its establishment would be of great benefit to the nation and the world and also to our institution.

For this nation and the world, the proposed Academy would help meet several urgent needs. It would provide visibility and legitimacy to new ways of thinking and working in the areas of peace and conflict resolution. Even the controversy that will result from some of its work will provoke needed discussion and further ideas. The Academy will also give support crucial to the early stages of development of any field. Peace research needs nurturing in the crowded academic groves which are already suffering from resource constraints. In addition, the Academy can promote the kind of collaborative research that any existing institution would be unable to provide.

There is another important area of service that a Peace Academy would be particularly well suited to provide and which universities are not well organized to provide. This is the sharing of the insights and knowledge about conflict management with the public at large and with persons working in jobs which regularly involve them in conflicts. A Peace Academy could usefully draw upon the experience of universities in community outreach and midcareer training and develop such programs more extensively.

Finally, I would like to note that the example of this kind of Academy may be emulated in other countries, expanding many times the benefits we could accomplish by ourselves in the United States. Here is a kind of model we want to set because the more that others join in this effort, the greater will be the benefits for all of us.

A U.S. Peace Academy as proposed by the U.S. Commission will be uniquely able to provide these benefits.

Developing our knowledge and improving our skills in managing conflicts are matters too important to be impeded by parochial defenses of academic turf. Even if I thought that the interests of Syracuse University or of the Maxwell School might suffer by competition from the Peace Academy, I would support the establishment of the Academy. What is proposed is of such great significance for this country that I would not put my local or special interest ahead of the greater national interest.

Actually, of course, the establishment of a Peace Academy will enhance our activities, not harm them. I anticipate three kinds of institutional benefits for our school. First, encouraging work for peace should expand the numbers of students in the field. This should mean more students taking degrees to prepare for the specialized training of the Academy. Second, the increased support for research will enable our faculty and graduate students to conduct needed studies and improve the quality of information we transmit in our teaching. Third, the outreach programs of the Academy should alert more people throughout the country to the possibilities of learning how to cope effectively with conflicts. This too will help us since more persons will seek additional education and training.

The U.S. Peace Academy can be organized so as to further its basic programs in collaboration with existing institutions. I think in this way the effectiveness of the Academy and the existing institutions will be multiplied to the advantage of all. There are several ways in which this can be done.

1. The Academy should provide and channel funds for research, training, and evaluation to scholars and institutes in well established institutions.

2. The Academy should thus enable scholars from different institutions to collaborate in research, training, evaluation, and outreach. A few scholars could have extended periods of residence at the Academy.
3. The Academy faculty should concentrate on research and short-term training. I do not favor the development of an undergraduate degree program at the Academy.
4. The establishment of a few regional centers, in addition to the central offices in the Washington area would increase the usefulness of the Academy. Regional centers could best be placed at established institutions, where faculty, students, and experience already exist. Such a center then could serve as a focus for linking and expanding regional activities.

I have noted a few, but not all, of the ways in which the proposed U.S. Peace Academy would benefit and enhance existing schools of public affairs. A national Peace Academy would not only serve as an important symbol of the U.S. commitment to nonviolent resolution of conflicts but also serve to advance and strengthen our national commitment to citizenship education and involvement in public affairs.

San Francisco State University

1600 HOLLOWAY AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94132

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 7, 1982

Senator Robert T. Stafford
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Stafford:

May I offer supporting testimony on behalf of the creation of a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, concerning which you will be holding hearings shortly. I have been actively interested in the Academy concept for some half dozen years, and my previous testimony and recommendations have been noted in the Report of the Matsunaga Commission on Proposals.

As a professional observer of American national politics, I am extremely impressed by the evolution of peace academy proposals over these past several years. The initial concept was unstructured and ambiguous, heavily endowed with good intentions and expressions of the need for such an enterprise. The presently proposed legislation appears to be the distillation of the best and most concrete ideas gathered since those early efforts. The practical elements needed for a serious educational institution with such an unprecedented objective are now incorporated in the proposed legislation before you. I applaud its drafters and sponsors, and I look now forward to an academy in the best tradition of our other national service academies.

I would like to contribute two observations to your deliberations. Both, I am sure, will seem quite obvious. First, I believe that the symbolic significance of a national peace academy cannot be over-stated. In an era of mounting tension at all levels of human association, the risks and costs of war and violence are obvious to all, yet the usual institutions of conflict resolution are either absent or otherwise insufficient for the burdens laid on them. A national peace academy, even before it offers its first class, would offer hope to the strife-ridden peoples of the world, would provide a pro-peace image to an Administration that is perceived as confrontational and war-like, and would become a source of national pride among the citizens of our own country.

Secondly, I urge you to give careful consideration to the criteria and procedures for selecting the initial leadership of a national peace academy. In most of our leading academic institutions, including the service academies, the influence of the initial leadership is invariably profound and long-lasting.

Stafford letter - page 2

Constructing a campus, selecting a faculty, designing a curriculum, developing a research program, creating public service activities, recruiting a motivated student body — these are difficult tasks that require a rare combination of charisma, organizational skill, substantive expertise, and educational vision. I hope your hearings will give specific attention to these requirements.

With best wishes for a successful set of hearings,

Respectifully yours,

Ralph M. Goldman

Ralph M. Goldman
Professor

RMG:lb
Encl.

Written Testimony concerning the Peace Academy for the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Education, the Arts, and Humanities.

While the idea that large-scale war is now obsolete because the use of atomic bombs would result in world obliteration, has received considerable verbal currency in the last thirty years, it clearly has not had the effect of eliminating the possibility of war. On a broad historical and evolutionary scale this is very understandable, because war as an instrument of policy, whether tribal or national, has been effectively utilized by man ever since he appeared on earth about 3 million years ago. How, with such a long and bellicose history, can man be expected to change in a few short years? Yet, change he somehow must in order to survive.

In the face of this necessity, despite the recent increase in the number of demonstrations for a nuclear freeze, etc., there has been to date no truly pervasive and convincing collective disposition for peace in this country, or for that matter, the world. It is my conviction that as far as this country is concerned, this has been because our peace efforts have been diffuse, fragmented, and lacking in continuity and central thrust. It is the concept of a Peace Academy, giving a focus to the energies directed to peace studies and efforts in this country, that would help enormously in providing such a continuity and central thrust. The establishment of such an Academy would immediately capture the imagination of the people of this country and the world, and help them believe that this country has truly adopted peace as its ultimate objective. Despite the courageous efforts of President Rodrigo Carazo Odio of Costa Rica to establish a University for Peace under the aegis of the United Nations, the action of a major world power is needed to effectively embody such an idea.

The two principal objections that seem most often leveled against the creation of a Peace Academy are: 1) it could become an institution which espouses values and policies that could run counter to official U.S. foreign policy; 2) it is not clear where its graduate could be employed. In answer to the first objection, it should be pointed out that the three service academies have functioned for years without being considered as dangerous challenges to U.S. policy. An appropriately designed program at the Peace Academy could have the same result. The second objection is also invalid. Aside from obvious occupations in institutions such as the Peace Academy itself, other universities, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and privately funded institutions, the spectrum of employment opportunities is as broad as is implied in an interdisciplinary curriculum including political science, economics, anthropology, history, and languages.

There has never been the sense of a unified cohesive focus for peace in and of itself either in this country or in the world. The chance that the Peace Academy might be a step toward providing this focus should not be missed.

Lawrence W Fagg

Lawrence W. Fagg
Research Professor
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Testimony on S. 1889 in the Senate of the United States to Establish the United States Academy of Peace, and for other Purposes.

by Wilma Scott Heide, Ph.D.

My name is Wilma Scott Heide. Currently, I am Professor of Innovative and Experimental Studies and Women's Studies at Illinois' Public Affairs University, Sangamon State, in Springfield, Illinois. My other 'credentials' relevant to the proposed Peace Academy are included in the References.[1]

Since the beginning of my public activism in the late forties, and particularly during the fifties, I have both supported and advocated both a Peace Academy and a Peace Corps. That advocacy has been shared in my publications, at public forums and in my leadership in various social/political movements, and in my roles as educator and broadcaster. Thus, S.1889 and similar prior legislation vis-a-vis a National Peace Academy are welcomed. I favor the establishment of a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution on certain terms. In legislative language, this means the following additions or amendments to S.1889 are recommended:

1. In Section 2 of S.1889 (Part (4), line 21 of page 2), is noted "the national need to examine the disciplines in the social, behavioral and physical sciences and the arts and humanities with regard to the history, nature, elements and future of peace processes, and to bring together and develop new and tested techniques to promote peaceful economic, political, social and cultural relations in the world." I would urge adding the transdisciplinary processes of the values transformation of feminism, perhaps the most profound and most peaceful movement for change the world has ever known. Feminism not only values women and our centuries of commitments to peaceful processes, but values: affective as well as cognitive learning; experieintial as well as intellectual knowledge. Further, feminist perspectives move beyond the either/or, pro/con, win/lose dualisms of androcentric disciplines.

2. Part (5) of Section 2 (line 5 of page 3) advocates "a national institution (proposed Peace Academy) devoted to instructional peace research, education and training, and information services;" Surely, that is needed. I would amend that to include community and interpersonal, as well as international study, because the former is where most of us live and learn (or don't live and learn) the prerequisites for peace that will provide the world leadership for peace. At my own current institution, Sangamon State University in Springfield, Illinois, is successfully addressing "The Struggle for Peaceful Conflict Resolution."[2]

3. On the makeup of the Board of Directors of the proposed National Peace Academy, Section 6 of S.1889 (beginning on page 11), I would insist that the appointment process itself include genuine affirmative action so the Board of Directors does not become (one more time) a white male club with (perhaps) a token woman and/or token person of color. The commission that recommended a National Peace Academy and generated S.1889 itself, acknowledged that genuine peace is not possible without justice. That recognition must be more than nominal or token.

Therefore, I recommend that the Board of Directors:

a. have no more than a majority of one of either sex,

b. be demographically representative by race and income level,

c. that the appointment process not play games by e.g. counting one person for 2 or more population categories such as e.g., a woman who is black and/or poor. It would be fine to have such a person but that alone would not be sufficient to count as 3 minority requirements but count as one in one category.*

d. Other related recommendations are in Testimony of Eleanor Humes Haney and Wilma Scott Heide vis-a-vis proposed commission to study whether or not to propose a National Peace Academy. That Testimony is appended to this Testimony and I ask that it be included as an integral part of this Testimony and be part of the written Record of Hearings on S .1889.[3]

4. Language of S.1889 - present language is sexist. Sexist language is, indeed, male only language and is sex biased in favor of men. Thus, it is unjust and incompatible with justice as a prerequisite for peace itself. Therefore, the language on page 15 (of S.1889) stating that the President shall name the first chairman (sic) of the Board should be changed to read Chair, Chairperson or Chairone. The position has no sex, therefore, the title should have no sex reference. All necessary other changes elsewhere need to reflect the reality of a 2 sex world. Thus, where he is used, the language should read she or he; his or him should be changed to her or his or to her or him. See Appendix statement "He Is Not She."[4] Males are not and never have been the sole or primary spokespeople or peace leaders for all people of both sexes. This legislation must explicitly acknowledge both that reality and potential in this important S.1889.

5. Finally, for this Testimony, while I am pleased to see some funding proposed for the capitalization and administration of a National Peace Academy, the amounts proposed are incredibly modest, even miniscule. Even, if not especially, in a time of recession (if not depression), even in a time of deficits up to $180 billion dollars particularly caused by military spending in the billions and even trillions, the $15 million for capitalization and $6-10 million for administration is obscenely low. More $ both appropriated and authorized for peace imperatives may be the most cost effective leadership this or any other congress ever has or will take(n). No Congress, no President, no nation can be a credible influence for peace with such a budget chasm between military and peace expenditures. A budget (any budget) is, after all, a statement of values.

I ask that all the references and appendices attached be included as an integral part of my Testimony for the Hearing Record of S.1889.

*Note - Staff for S.1889: please be sure congress people who work on this legislation are informed of these and other recommendations.

References: also appendices to be included as integral part of Testimony.

1. Wilma Scott Heide "credentials:"

    a. Member of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;
    Women's Strike for Peace;
    COPRED, Consotrium on Peace Research, Education and Development;
    Organizer of Feminist Women for Peace;
    Member, National Peace Academy Campaign.

    b. Chairone of the Board of NOW, National Organization for Women, Inc. 1970-71, President of NOW 1971-74. NOW is the world's largest feminist organization.

    c. Commissioner, Pennsylvania Human Rights Commission 1969-72.

    d. Peace Studies Faculty, Goddard College 1978-80.

    e. Appointed to Community Dispute Resolution Services of American Arbitration Association, 1978.

2. Sangamon State University, "The Struggle for Peaceful Conflict Resolution," Coordinator 1982, Springfield, Illinois 62708.

3. Testimony of Eleanor Humes Haney and Wilma Scott Heide on Legislation in 1978 that proposed a commission to consider whether or not to recommend a National Peace Academy. Appended.

4. Farquhar, Norma, Elizabeth Burr and Susan Dunn, "He Is Not 'She'", West Side Women's Committee, PO Box 24020, Village Station, Los Angeles, California 90024, December 1972.

Testimony: H. R. 8356 To Establish a National Peace Academy Commission

by Eleanor Humes Haney and Wilma Scott Heide[1]

We are contributing testimony in support of the idea of establishing a Commission to explore the possibilities of a National Peace Academy and other alternatives for conflict resolution. On December 1, 1977, Congresswoman Helen Meyner introduced H. R. 8356 into the House, calling for the creation of such a Commission.

We are convinced that this nation cannot move toward peace while it prepares for war. A nation and a world get what they prepare for. While we are not so naive as to advocate total unilateral disarmament, we do value even unilateral peace initiatives. The present "peace" discussions in the Mideast depend significantly on U.S. behavior. Yet, the United States is the world"s greatest arms merchant and these discussions include what arms will be added to those already supplied to several of the partners. This is insane. There is no "magic" way to peace. Peace is the way.

Similarly, the United States cannot move toward peace by budgeting $114 billion for Defense and by supporting four Service Academies and five War Colleges. A national Peace Academy is at least one step away from concentrating on preparing for war toward preparing for peace.

However, if such an academy is to exercise any significant leadership for peace, it must do more than teach methods of conflict resolution, data collection, and traditional academic disciplines related to the study of peace and war. It must also help to illumine the ethos in which we all live to some extent and which fatefully informs the policy decisions that are made about war and peace. We say fatefully because, within this ethos, it is almost impossible, genuinely, to prepare for peace. Until that ethos is challenged, refuted, and changed, a Peace Academy or any other institution or program, individually or collectively, will not represent a significant step toward peace. Unfortunately, indeed tragically, this ethos is not only not addressed in the bill to establish the Commission; it is assumed. The Commission as currently proposed in H. R. 8356 - good intentions to the contrary notwithstanding-will perpetuate an ethos of violence, not of peace. This is not to say that we should not press for the establishment of a peace academy until our ethos is transformed. It is to say that we must integrate into the consideration for such an academy the beginnings of a transformed ethos, one that will be reflected in the leadership and membership of the Commission and its Staff.

The word ethos refers to the roots and fundamental moral character and values of a community or culture. The national ethos is hierarchical. It sanctions dominance and subordination, with differences in responsibility and privilege. Dominants are to lead--in culture, business, politics, religion. Their responsibilities are to create and maintain "civilization." Their privileges are those of freedom and equality, of power and authority. Subordinates are to support and serve dominants. In this society, subordinates' responsiblities are primarily to nurture the physical and emotional well-being of dominants. Their "privileges" are those of limited responsibility and relative powerlessness.

The particular experiences, insights, fears and hopes of those in positions of dominance, struggling to maintain dominance, or struggling to gain it, are assumed to be the right experiences, insights, fears and hopes and are assumed to be characteristic of all the people.

> A dominant group, inevitably, has the great influence in determining a culture's overall outlook--its philosophy, morality, social theory, and even its science. The dominant group thus, legitimizes the unequal relationship and incorporates it into society's guiding concepts...
>
> Inevitably, the dominant group is the model for "normal human relationships."...dominant groups generally do not like to be told about or even quietly reminded of the existence of inequlaity. "Normally' they can avoid awareness because their explanation of the relationship becomes so well integrated in other terms; they can even believe that both they and the subordinate groups share the same interests and, to come extent, a common experience.[2]

As it is hierarchical, so the national ethos is also androcentric. It reflects those values, beliefs, and the expected and acceptable ways of being and doing that support and sanction the continuing dominance of affluent, white, and indeed heterosexual males and, to a lesser extent, of others who identify with and are willing to live by those values, beliefs, and patterns of behavior.

> Since the American dream was about and for straight white males, those who qualified as such could only be delighted about the propsects promised them. Because whiteness and maleness and heterosexual preference were the primary qualification of those who shaped and controlled collective social life, each straight white male was led to believe in the potential of his own future... But this dream also functioned as a nightmare for those whose persons and destinies fell outside the dream's promises. Blacks, women, and homosexuals were all incorporated into this prevailing ideology, but in destructive ways.[3]

The national ethos thus erroneously equates and values the male and the "masculine"; it erroneously equates and devalues the female and the "feminine." We see this, for instance, in the socialization of girls and boys, women and men. As a child, for a boy to be called a "sissy" is much more devastating than for a girl to be called a "tomboy." To refuse to fight, to mediate, to be willing to be defenseless are suspect, signs of "giving in," of "going soft," of "not being able to take it," whether it is in sports, in the classroom, in the business world, in politics, or in responses to conflict. Not only are boys and men expected to defend themselves, they are also expected to maintain an adversarial stance toward others. They are to be "on guard," they are to "beat" the other out of the business deal or promotion, they are to win at all cost. Nearly every institution reflects this pattern of expectations. The legal institution is but one blatant example of this stance. As Anne Strick says of the law as an adversary system:

> It is a method of dispute settlement that requires all persons who go to law to settle differences to behave as enemies....Out of that battle, adversary 'rationale' maintains that the truth will be revealed... Yet each side must present not all it knows, but only its own "best case"; must assail the opposition; must attack and counterattack, "discover" and avoid discovery.[4]

As proving one's manhood is valued, so what men do and the skills developed for their doing are valued more than what women do and the skills we have developed for our doing. Nursing is not valued as highly as the doctoring, though it is more wholistic and humanistic than medicine; the quality of teaching is not valued as highly as the "quality" of weapons technology; turning to others in care and in need of support is not valued as highly as pretended self-sufficiency and hiding of emotions; cooperation is not valued as highly as winning; the reasons of the heart are not valued as highly as the reasons of the head.

It is not that men do not have the potential for fulfilling these responsibilities, for gaining the skills, and for expressing the traits we call "feminine." What we consider "feminine" and "masculine" are not limited, respectively, to either female or male, but men are afraid to explore their "feminine" traits and claim them, because they have been traditionally associated with being a woman and subordinate. It has been relatively easier for women to claim "masculine" traits, develop those skills, and fulfill those responsibilities traditionally associated with men, because to be male is considered good.

Thus, as men struggle for dominance, they feel they have to be aggressive, apparently self-reliant, and confident. They feel as if they cannot turn to others for support and nurturance, since that is what women do and since other men are not to be trusted. They feel they must compete and seize control of power and thereby manipulate other people to do what they might not otherwise do.

In this process, the characteristics that are developed and valued are considered virtues and assumed to be normative for all people. To be human is to be ever confident, self-reliant, autonomous, competitive. It is precisely this pattern, this way of valuing, reflected in this ethos, that makes for violence and war. As we have said, what we consider the "feminine" and the "masculine" are part of the repertoire of all human beings; they are not sex-specific. Yet, in their devaluation of women, men are forced to repress the "feminine" in themselves, to the dehumanization of their own spirit and full potential.

This ethos also does violence to women as well, as of course, to others who are subordinate, a violence that is reinforced by every aspect of American society:

> Law has limited or excluded us; history has omitted or distorted herstory; religion has manifested gross misogyny, education has miseducated or partly educated us; legislatures have misrepresented and/or nearly excluded us; no president has had a feminist consciousness; justice, while symbolized by a blindfolded woman, has been mostly men blind to the justice of our humanity; economic systems have sexploited us; marriage has robbed our identity....Most of what we "think" we know about the nature and potential of women is but the consequence of thousands of years of virtual powerlessness in public life and accommodating, limiting, and often manipulative power behavior in women's private lives.[5]

Further, since women have had much less "opportunity" to express the traits that are considered virtues, when we do, we are perceived as "deviant," as Inge Broverman and others have documented.[6] And then we are "treated" as deviant: we do not have what it takes to 'succeed' in this society and thus are often all too effectively barred from pursuing many of the options open to men.

Physical violence is also generated and sanctioned. Women and children are beaten and sexually abused. Women and children constitute the great majority of poor in this country, as well as around the world.

> Of the 24.3 million poor people in the U.S., 19.6 million are women and children. In 1976, twice as many women age 16 and over than men lived below the poverty level.... One third of single female parent families were in the poverty group, including 891,000 single female parent families where the mother worked and earned less than the poverty level.[7]

Not only is violence against subordinates generated and sanctioned, violence against the earth is equally justified. Men continue to conquer nature (which is usually she), even though dominants themselves cannot live without clean air and water and food. And finally, in a terrible and savage twist of irony, violence against dominants themselves is generated and sanctioned--total annihilation, not once and forever, but several times. The United States and Russia have the destructive power to kill each person twenty times and to destroy all life on the face of the earth for thousands of year--all in the name of security and "peace."[8]

This valuing the male and equating it with "masculine" and devaluing the female and equating it with "feminine" informs national reflection about war and peace. Think of the connotations and images of the words peace and war, for instance. Peace is associated with a dove or a woman with a laurel wreath around her head. Peace is a soft word; it suggests peacefulness--calmness, harmony, rest. Robert McCan's description of peace in the previous hearing (an excellent description, by the way,) is

> the positive face of humanity, the harmonious balancing of all forces, the at-homeness with ourselves and with our world and with our conception of the ultimate.[9]

In contrast, war is associated with a hawk, a predator, or with Mars, the god of war. War is a hard word; war is loud, strident. There is aggression and destruction--the clenched fist, the defiant posture. War suggests what is called heroism--and cowardice; peace suggests saintliness. Peace is a "feminine" word; war is a "masculine" one.

Similarly, David Halberstam, in The Best and the Brightest,(sic) describes President Johnson as being

> haunted by the idea that he would be judged as being insufficiently manly for the job... He wanted the respect of men who were tough, real men, and they would turn out to be the hawks... Hearing that one member of his Administration was becoming a dove on Vietnam, Johnson said, "Hell, he has to squat to piss."[10]

Within the country, this connection between violence and what has come to be called "the masculine mystique" has been documented over and over again.[11] Whether it is in the history of the west or of organized crime, whether it is in the street gangs of the ghetto or fights in bars, whether it is James Bond or Ernest Hemingway, whether it is among the Ku Klux Klan or the Black Panthers, violence and masculinity and male supremacy or longing for male supremacy are intrinsically intertwined companions. The twisted way in which that connection informs attitudes toward war perhaps is best symbolized in the following quotation from Hemingway:

> There are worse things than war; and all of them come with defeat. The more you hate war, the more you know that once you are forced into it, for whatever reason it may be, you have to win it.[12]

In such an ethos, it is to be expected that there is little funding for those projects, institutions, and ideas that tend to reflect peace, or traditional "feminine" concerns and values. As Congresswoman Helen Meyner has said, we can get billions of dollars for war-related concerns, but human service programs are constantly in jeopardy; and--again--human services, interestingly enough, reflect extensions of what has been done mostly by women in the home and in the community. Perhaps a peace academy will not come about--one that is genuinely free of governmental and particularly Pentagon influence--until other humane programs and institutions in this country are also valued and, therefore, funded. Consider the following figures, which we should call welfare for the recipients: As of 1973, $640 million for air traffic control and airport facilities construction for private airplanes (men's); $13.7 billion in tax reductions to those owning stocks and bonds (mostly men); $3.8 billion to shipbuilders (all men); $114 billion for defense; Similarly, $224 million were spent so three male U.S. astronauts could shake hands in space with two Russian astronauts - a sum which does not include the billions of dollars of related activity that made the handshake possible.

Compare those with these: In 1975, the United States appropriated less than $500,000 to finance American women's participation in the International Women's Year conference in Mexico City, sponsored by the U. N. It was the least amount this nation had provided for any U.N.-sponsored conference; yet the conference was to address the critical issues of equality, peace, and development. Similarly, in order to meet the Defense budget, it was proposed that the government eliminate supplementary food for the poor and for pregnant women, cut free school lunch programs and milk for poor children, remove low-income workers (mostly women) from food stamp eligibility.[13] These are simply a few examples of the differences in funding between those concerns that have typically been men's concerns and those that are designed to improve the situation of women and children, much less acknowledge the contributions that women can make to policy formation.[14]

In addition to valuing the male and devaluing the female, the national ethos bifurcates men's experience in a way in which it does not women's. Repressing emotions, not being involved in the day-to-day nurturing of others, learning not to trust one's peers and not to look to them for support and sustenance, men actually lose touch with the physical and emotional dimensions of themselves and of life and are unable to integrate them into a wholistic pattern of living. Instead, the emotions, the physical, and other people often become objects to be manipulated, fearful forces to be "mastered," or tasks to be done. Life becomes a task, a job, a means to an end. And in alienation from oneself and others, one's stance becomes even more strident, more aggressive, more manipulative, more competitive.

> Practically everyone now bemoans Western man's (sic) sense of alienation, lack of community, and inability to find ways of organizing society for human ends. We have reached the end of the road that is built on the set of traits held out for male identity--advance at any cost, pay any price, drive out all competitors, and kill them if necessary....
>
> It may be that we had to arrive at a certain stage of "mastery" over the physical environment or a certain kind of technology, to see not only the limits but the absolute danger of this kind of social organization. On the other hand, it may be that we need never have come this long route in the first place; perhaps, it has been a vast, unnecessary detour. It now seems clear we have arrived at a point from which we must return to a basis of faith in affiliation--and not only faith but recognition that it is a requirement for the existence of human beings. The basis for what seems the absolutely essential next steps in Western history if we are to survive, is already available.[15]

Finally, with the "masculine" and "feminine" so thoroughly separated from each other and equated with being a man and being a woman, the "masculine" has become demonic and the "feminine" trivial. Betty and Theodore Roszak put it this way:

> He is playing masculine. She is playing feminine.
> He is playing masculine because she is playing feminine.
> He is playing the kind of man that she thinks the kind of woman she is playing out to admire.* She is playing the kind of woman that he thinks the kind of man that he is playing out to desire.*
> If he were not playing masculine, he might well be more feminine than she is--except when she is playing very feminine. If she were not playing feminine she might well be more masculine than he is -- except when he is playing very masculine.

*Note: admire and desire are not equivalent concepts.

So he plays harder and she plays softer.
He wants to make sure that she could never be more
masculine than he.
She wants to make sure that he could never be more
feminine than she.
He therefore seeks to destroy the femininity in himself.
She therefore seeks to destoy the masculinity in herself.
She is supposed to admire him for the masculinity in him
that she fears in herself. He is supposed to desire her
for the femininity in her that he despises in himself.
He desires her for her femininity which is his femininity
but which he can never lay claim to. She admires him for
his masculinity which is her masculinity but which she
can never lay claim to. Since he may only love his
own femininity in her, he envies her her femininity.
Since she may only love her own masculinity in him,
she envies him his masculinity.
The envy poisons their love.
He, coveting her unattainable femininity, decides to
punish her. She, coveting his unattainable masculinity,
decides to punish him. He denigrates*(sic) her femininity
which he is supposed to desire and which he
really envies and becomes more aggressively masculine.
She feigns disgust at his masculinity which she
is supposed to admire and which she really envies and
becomes more fastidiously feminine. He is becoming
less and less what he wants to be. She is becoming
less and less what she wants to be. But now he is
more manly than ever and she is more womanly than
ever. Her femininity, growing more dependently
supine, becomes contemptible. His masculinity, growing
more oppressively domineering, becomes intolerable.
At last she loathes what she has helped his
masculinity to become.
So far, it has (almost) all been very symmetrical. But we have
left one thing out. The world belongs to what his masculinity
has become. The reward for what his masculinity
has become is power. The reward for what her femininity
has become is only the security which his power
can bestow upon her. If he were to yield to what her
femininity has become, he would be yielding to contemptible
incompetence. If she were to yield to what his
masculinity has become she would participate in intolerable
coerciveness. She is stifling under the triviality
of her femininity. The world is groaning under the
terrors of his masculinity.

He is playing masculine. She is playing feminine.
How do we call off the game?[16]

*Note: a racist word.

In case you haven't noticed, feminists have called off "the game." We must lead this country to realize that strength through peace is more viable and dynamic than the time-worn and discredited "peace through strength." Specifically, we must begin immediately to value girls and women as well as men and boys and must acknowledge and express the positive dimensions of both "feminine" and "masculine" behavior, traits and values as natural and normal. We are putting the "feminine" (humane) qualities of gentleness, sensitivity to human needs, compassion, intuition (which may be unarticulated perceptions), receptivity to others, honest emotionality in the ascendency and in the human interest for both sexes and all social institutions and public policies. While assertiveness as a matter of integrity, self-confidence as a matter of effectiveness, boldness in imagination for creativity are valuable for both sexes as well as institutions and polciles, other "masculine" characteristics of aggressiveness, competitiveness, adversarial relations, and patterns of domination and subordination require descendency.

To begin to accomplish this transformation, we propose that H. R. 8356 be revised to ensure that the majority of the Commission and Staff be women, especially feminists and of both sexes, of diverse racial and economic backgrounds. As it now stands, membership is to be appointed--three each--by the Senate, the House, and the President. Given the percentage of women in Congress and past practices, we can, at best, assume that there may be two women * on the Commission. Such tokenism simply will not do. The Senate, House and President should make their selections after consultation with feminist organizations and/or from a list of candidates that are acceptable to feminist organizations as well as to others interested in change in the human interest.

Further, in the revision of the Bill, changes in language must be made. The use of male language in a presumed "generic" sense simply will not do. It is a spiritual violence to be totally ignored. It is also illegal and it, in effect, excludes half the population from consciousness and consideration. If it is too awkward or cumbersome for anyone to use both female and male language, then we

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*actually only one woman and eight men

suggest using s/he (which includes he) and woman (which includes man), unlike the reverse in both instances, and use her in lieu of his and him and reflective of the majority of the population.

The rest of this Testimony is an exploration of why women, especially feminists, should constitute the majority of the Commission.

First, to make the majority of the Commission women, especially feminists, is an act of simple justice, something that ought to be central to considerations of peace. At the National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas, November 18-21, 1977, delegates representing women of every state and territory, of all economic, racial, rural and urban, and age backgrounds, sent twenty-six resolutions to the President and Congress. Among them was one on international affairs, which is preferable to "foreign" affairs--an alienating term--and which urged the President and Congress to:

> ....see to it that many more women, of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, participate in the formulation and execution of all aspects of United States foreign (sic) policy....
>
> build, in cooperation with other nations, an international framework within which serious disarmament negotiations can occur....
>
> support peace education in schools and advanced study in the field of conflict resolution and peace keeping.[17]

Women, especially feminists, can bring to these responsibilities a freedom from any need to defend previous policy decisions and mistakes. Our loyalty and investment are not to the past so much as they are to the future. Further, for women to be in such roles will give men an opportunity to learn to listen to women---for a change---and authentic women an opportunity to speak - a reversal of experience which, in itself, will help to overcome the present division of society into dominants and subordinates.

Second, feminists bring an invaluable perspective to the Commission. It is important to bear in mind that there is no one inclusive definition of feminism, for it is a process and is not a monolithic movement or philosophy; it is also still in the process of development. Contemporary feminism, as a specific movement, is only a little over a decade old. What it includes and what it portends for the future of all is little known to the body politic, and to some real extent remains to be seen. Nevertheless, a working definition is possible: feminism is a values transformation, i.e., in valuing women and the positive of the "feminine" in women and men, incorporating those values we call "feminine" in all social institutions and public policies, in our personal becoming, in transcending some current definitions of "feminine" and "masculine" in a new, transcendent, and more inclusive definition of the human, and incorporating these values into all social institutions and public policies, in our personal becoming, and in our interpersonal and international relationships. In the process of that re-valuation, we will de-hierarchialize human relations and social structures toward a more interdependent society and world. Feminists are those, of both sexes, who are sensitive to the ways in which sexism has skewed our relationships, our beliefs about the nature of reality, and our convictions about what is good and healthy and desirable; and who are able to make the connections between sexism, as possibly the original and basic 'model' of oppression and violence, and between sexism and racism, ageism, classism, homophobia, and the exploitation of the earth. Feminists are, therefore, those who can bring the radical perspective to bear that we so desperately need in this exploration of a National Peace Academy.[18] Without feminists, the critique of others not (yet) feminists will be, at best, incomplete.

Third, although, of course, there is no guarantee that women will bring different perspectives and values to bear (although feminist consciousness portends such)--for women have learned as well as men what is generally valued in this culture--it is nevertheless the case that women's experiences and ways of responding to the world are different in significant ways. As we alluded earlier, women have traditionally been peacemakers in family and community, albeit without portfolio and recognition. Psychoanalyst Jean Baker Miller writes that:

> In the course of projecting into women's domain some of its most troublesome and problematic necessities, male-led society may also have simultaneously, and unwittingly, delegated to women not

> humanity's "lowest needs" but its "highest necessities"---that is, the intense, emotionally connected cooperation and creativity necessary for human life and growth...
>
> In many ways women have "filled in" these essentials all along. Precisely because they have done so, women have developed the foundations of extremely valuable psychological qualities, which we are only beginning to understand.[19]

Women, perhaps uniquely, have been socialized in such a way that we do have those insights and abilities and values that the world so desperately needs and indeed yearns for. It is not that women are innately morally supperior to men. It is, however, that

> All of the valuable qualities mentioned earlier--like helping in the development of others--will not get you to the top at General Motors, were that path open to women. They will not even provide you with a self-determined, authentic, successful life. Indeed, the point is that the characteristics most highly developed in women and perhaps most essential to human being are the very characteristics that are specifically dysfunctional for success in the world, as it is. That is obviously no accident. They may, however, be the important ones for making the world different.[20]

Feminists, i.e., those who do value the positive aspects of the "feminine", thus do have a perspective to bring to the Commission that is essential to the establishment of alternative and peaceful resolutions of conflict.

Jean Baker Miller draws on her own experience as a woman and her counseling for her statements. Her insights are corroborated independently by Carol Gilligan's study of moral judgment in women.[21] In her research on moral development, she observes that women do follow a developmental model that is different from men, and not simply deviant from them, as Lawrence Kohlberg erroneously suggested earlier. She writes that developmental theories of moral judgment, based on men subjects, gives lip-service

> to the interdependence of intimacy and care but constantly stress(es), at their expense, the importance and value of autonomous judgment and action.[22]

in the men Kohlberg studied:

> the moral imperative appeared....as an injunction to respect the rights of others and thus to protect from interference the right to life and self-fulfillment.[23]

For the women, however, the moral imperative (appeared as)

> an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the "real and recognizable trouble" of this world.[24]

Fourth, the experiences and perspectives of those who have been powerless become the crucible for alternative interpretations of power and of the connection between power and violence. Patriarchy defines power as power over others, the capacity for getting others to do what one wants. So long as that kind of power exists, there will continue to be power struggles as the relatively less powerful seek more power to protect themselves and to control others and as the relatively more powerful seek to maintain and even increase their power.

As we think about that understanding of power, however, we can begin to see its inherent flawedness and weakness. "Power" that must constantly be struggled over and backed up with force, including violence, is not power. That is a contradiction in terms. Power is potency--the capacity to act, to implement. In so far as one's capacity to act must be supported by force, one is, to that degree,powerless, not powerful. One is relying on something other than power.

This distinction is similar to the one the late Hannah Arendt makes between power and violence.

> Power corresponds to the human ability.... to act in concert. The moment the group, from which the power originated to begin with...disappears, "his (sic) power" also vanishes... Violence appears where power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course it ends in power's disappearance....Violence can destroy power; it is utterly incapable of creating it.[25]

Hannah Arendt failed to connect this analysis with one of sexism and see the sexist roots of violence, as we have done; and that connection makes us radically question where and whether power even exists in this country. If, indeed, violence is intrinsic to male-dominated society, then its "power" must lie in its myths and rhetoric rather than its weapons and its weapons must be a reflection of its lack of power and of its capacity for violence.

Power, both politically and personally, is not an either-or phenomenon, much less a destructive one. In the personal realm, one's power is potential in the process of actualization. As Jean Baker Miller writes:

> the greater the development of each individual, the more able, more effective, and less needy of limiting or restricting others she or he will be.[26]

This is the human development model of power.

Similarly, power in the political sense is covenantal: it is mutual consent to a pluralism of action; it is also the willingness to embrace the interests of others in one's own decisions. Feminists, therefore, eschew control of others in favor of moving toward sharing the space of globe and its resources, helping to actualize potency.

From this perspective, we can begin to ask anew some fundamental questions about national and international policy: What is a powerful nation? What might happen if (when?) the "leaders" of this country put aside the threats and bluffs and concerns with status and begin to speak with one another and with people of other countries in respect and as human beings? How might we begin to think of the money we spend on defense (offense?) of arms reductions, indeed of disarmament as we see our present policy stemming from and reinforcing weakness rather than strength? Where is our power, and how can we spend our money to transform that potency into actualization?

Fifth, women and feminists are in a position to discover other ways in which the roots of violence are connected with sexism, ways that have been generally ignored. In their study of women and world hunger, Lisa Leghorn and Mary Roodkowsky cite evidence after evidence that women and children are the real poor throughout the world, not only in this country, and they are poorer than men because of sexist patterns of culture. In most of the 'developing' countries,

> fewer than 10 percent of the women are engaged in the more remunerative occupations of industry and trade, including clerical, administrative, and professional work....
>
> Inadequate financial compensation for their work compels women to spend more time in whatever remunerative activity they can find, exhausting many of them, creating greater nutritional needs, depleting their reserves of strength and making them less able to withstand the effects of disease and famine.
>
> Menstruation, pregnancy, lactation and heavy physical labor all increase women's need for iron and protein. Yet in many countries, men receive nutritional priority because they are the wage earners (or just because they are men.) 27

Further, although women are primary food producers, gatherers, processors and feeders in most of the world, when the United States seeks to assist development in these countries, new techniques are taught to men primarily, and whatever financial benefits do accrue to development tend to go to men, perpetuating and indeed increasing cycles of poverty, hunger, and malnutrition. Also, as the United States brings technical assistance, it also increases the involvement of transnational corporations in those countries. The corporations not only further deepen dependency, but also bring pragmatic and exploitive values that put profit and success above human well-being. It is the perpetuation of the same pattern of hierarchical, western, androcentric values that, in turn, continue the cycle that ultimately leads to war.

As we are sensitive to such connections, we can help to redirect U.S. policy toward more creative initiatives to end hunger, unrest and violence altogether - that which the U.S. engenders and that which is fostered in response and that which exists in other patriarchal cultures.

In still other ways, feminist analyses can help eliminate sources of unrest and conflict. Functional or absolute illiteracy in this country, where skill with the written word is virtually a survival requirement, is twenty percent higher among girls and women than it is among boys and men.[28] In the rest of the world, as many as twice the number of women as men are illiterate.[29] Illiteracy contributes to poverty and to dependency and to being duped--as the success of transnationals in selling prepared baby formula in the poor countries of the world -- only too tragically indicates.[30]

In January, 1978, a two-and-a-half-hour television program on alcoholism was aired. It barely alluded to a major cause of the disease - efforts to escape the intolerable constraints and/or pressures of traditional sex-role-stereotyped expectations.

Unless women throughout the world have viable, operative, and self-decided alternatives to motherhood as their chief adult occupation, women will continue to be reproductively overemployed and productively underemployed in leadership, art, literature, science and politics. Contraception and genuine life alternatives both are necessary, not only for the intrinsic welfare of women and men, but also for bringing population and resources into more of a balance than they are at present.

Finally (for this testimony), it has been our observation and experience that in the conflict and dispute reduction process itself, the more feminist (in reality) its dimensions and behaviors, the more effective, likely of resolution, and lasting are the consequences. This means eschewing either/or adversarial, "hard line" ultimata and linear thinking. The ability to accommodate gracefully without compromising principle and integrity; the ability to use words like acknowledge in lieu of admit; the ability to move from win/lose to benefits for the varying parties; the ability to eschew or never have the need to dominate people and process; the intuiting of real feelings and needs of other parties: all these and more are "feminine" qualities. The positive aspects of "masculine" qualities of firmness, assertiveness, of genuine self-confidence during public pressure, of taking risks, of active advocacy, are also valuable qualities of women and men. The feminist model combines these thoughts and feelings and ways of relating so that no parties need to prove their manhood or their womanhood, but only embody their transcending humanity. Whether in homes, communities, nations and/or internationally, humankind literally yearns for the justice and peace which feminism portends.

In summary, therefore, feminists of both sexes in more than token numbers are necessary to the Commmission to delineate a conceptual context for thinking about the ways of peace, to provide leadership, for exploring the institutional alternatives for moving toward peace, for identifying those values and beliefs in our national ethos which are inimical to peace, for locating specific institutional proposals within the larger context of a transformed ethos, and, if an Academy seems an appropriate institutional goal, for exploring appropriate curricula and design of the Academy. Without our presence to claim and assert its value, the "feminine"--and, thus, in this case, the humane--is not likely to be integrated into the Commission's deliberations. Again, it's not that men can't learn to value, express and share their "feminine" potential, but just that so few male adults presently have that capacity in any depth. And without that, women and the crucial positions women play in societies throughout the world and the leadership we can and do make to the cause of peace will be ignored, to the tragic detriment of the possibilities of real peace in the world. Emmeline Pankhurst said it 68 years ago:

> ....In the late summer of 1914 when the armies of every great power in Europe were being mobilized for savage, unsparing, barbarous warfare against one another, against small and unaggressive nations, against helpless women and children, against civilization itself. How mild, by comparison with the dispatches in the daily newspapers, will seem this chronicle of women's militant (but unarmed) struggle against political and social injustice in one small corner of Europe. Yet, let it stand as it was written, with peace - so-called and civilization, and orderly government as the background for heroism such as the world has seldom witnessed. The militancy of men, through all the

> centuries, has drenched the world with blood, and for these deeds of horror and destruction, men have been rewarded with monuments, with great songs and epics. The militancy of women has harmed no human life save the lives of those who fought the battle of righteousness. Time alone will reveal what reward will be allotted to the women. There can be no real peace in the world until woman, the mother half of the human family is given (or, I think, until we create our) liberty in the councils of the world.[31]

To date, this society has taught women to care and men to be brave, with narrow conceptions of both caring and bravery. Feminism insists that for justice and peace to occur, women must care enough, about ourselves and our world, to be brave and assert ourselves and our talents wherever we choose to be at home in the world. Men must be brave enough to care about the quality and the equality of their private and public lives with women. This depolarization of the sexes and sex roles is imperative if we are serious about the power of genuine love exceeding the love of power over and violence to others. We support the idea of a Peace Academy on the terms we have delineated. We trust that the Congress, the President, and those campaigning for the Academy will support the ideas we share as ones whose times have come and are long overdue, as is peace itself.

FOOTNOTES

1 Eleanor Humes Haney - Ph.D., Associate Professor of Ethics, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minn.; currently on leave at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., to do research on and teach a course in feminist ethics as it has emerged in the life, thought, and action of Wilma Scott Heide.

Wilma Scott Heide- Behavioral Research Scientist and Consultant; Chair of the Board and President of the National Organization for Women, Inc., NOW, 4 1/2 years; Commissioner, Pennsylvania Human Rights Commission, 2 1/2 years; appointed to Community Dispute Services Panel by American Arbitration Association.

2 Jean Baker Miller, *Toward a New Psychology of Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), pp. 8-9.

3 Glenn Boucher, *Straight/White/Male* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), p. 16.

4 Anne Strick, "What's Wrong with the Adversary System: Paranoia, Hatred, and Suspicion," *Washington Monthly* (Jan. 1977), pp. 19-28, p. 19.

5 Wilma Scott Heide, "Feminism Means that *She* Is Risen to Redefine and Reassign Power for Life," speech given at University of Idaho Outlawry of War Foundation, April 2-4, 1973.

6 Inge Broverman, et al, "Sex Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, Feb., 1970.

7 *Proposed National Plan of Action*, National Women's Conference, Houston, Texas, Nov. 18-21, 1977.

8 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Pax et Libertas," Annual 1977. 1, Geneva, pp. 46-47.

9 Robert McCan, *Hearing before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare*, U. S. Senate, May 13, 1976, pp. 37-8.

10 Quoted in "Psycho-Sexual Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," by Elizabeth Dodson Gray (unpublished), p. 17.

11 Lucy Komisar, "Violence and The Masculine Mystique," *Washington Monthly*, July 1970, pp 39-48.

12 *Ibid*., p. 37.

13 Dorothy Steffens, "Women and Economics: Our Nation and the Profit System," address,May 15, 1976. (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St., Phila., PA 19107).

14 Much more evidence of this same point is fully and equally depressingly documented in "...To Form a More Perfect Union...." *Justice for American Women,* National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, U.S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1976.

15 Miller, *op*. *cit*., p. 88.

16 Betty and Theodore Roszak, *Masculine/Feminine* (New York: Harper & Rowe, 1969), pp. vii-viii.

17 *Proposed National Plan of Action*, *op*. *cit*., pp. 21-3.

18 By *radical*, we mean that which gets to root causes, which does not deal only with symptoms. *Radical* is not to be identified with any particular policy or proposal for the means of change.

19 Miller, *op*. *cit*., pp 25-6.

20 *Ibid*., p. 124.

21 Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice," *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 47, #4 (Nov., 1977).

22 *Ibid*., p. 509.

23 *Ibid*., p. 511.

24 *Ibid*.

25 Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Havest, 1969), pp. 44, 56.

26 Miller, *op*. *cit*., p. 116

27 Lisa Leghorn and Mary Roodkowsky, *Who Really Starves? Women and World Hunger* (New York: Friendship Press, 1977), pp. 16-20.

28 Wilma Scott Heide, "Feminism Means That *She* Is Risen to Redefine and Reassign Power for Life," *op* *cit*., p. 6

29 Lisa Leghorn and Mary Roodkowsky, *Who Really Starves?* *op*. *cit*., p. 26.

30 *Ibid*., pp. 27-8.

31 Emmeline Pankhurst, *Mrs Pankhurst's Own Story* (London: Hurst's International Library Co.,), 1914.

GETTYSBURG COLLEGE
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA
17325

OFFICE OF THE CHAPLAINS

April 23, 1982

Ms. Tricia Faith
U.S. Senate Subcommittee on
Education, Arts and Humanities
4230 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Ms. Faith,

I would like to make the following additions to the testimony that I made on behalf of the proposed U. S. Academy of Peace before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities on April 21st.

1. A letter from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Society supporting the proposed Academy and endorsing the suggestion of Gettysburg as a possible location.

2. I was also empowered to say, but neglected to do so, that Governor Thornburgh of Pennsylvania would welcome the locating of the Academy at Gettysburg.

3. The Board of Directors of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg has also communicated to me verbally the following resolution passed unanimously at their April 21 Board Meeting: "The Board of Directors of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg strongly supports United States Senate bill 1889 to establish the United States Academy of Peace. Signed, Jack Hoffman, Secretary." The Board also directed that its action in this regard be communicated to the three supporting synods of the Seminary with the request of their assistance in publicizing the action.

I thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Carl J. Mattson

Karl J. Mattson
Chaplain

KJM/tjh

Enclosure

**DWIGHT D.
EISENHOWER
SOCIETY**
Gettysburg,
Pennsylvania 17325

Rev. Robert A. MacAskill
President

Henry M. Scharf
Past President

Charles W. Wolf
Past President

Honorary Life Memberships
Mamie Doud Eisenhower
General Lauris Norstad
General Alfred N. Gruenther
The Honorable Fred Schwengel
Governor William W. Scranton
(Ambassador to U.N.)
Dr. Edward L. R. Elson
David Eisenhower
Gov. Richard L. Thornburgh

April 20, 1982

Chaplain Karl Mattson
Gettysburg College
Gettysburg, PA 17325

Dear Chaplain Mattson:

In your testimony before the Senate Hearing of April 21, 1982, on legislation to establish a United States Academy of Peace, will you please convey to the Committee the wholehearted support of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Society toward the establishment of an Academy of Peace, and the concept back of this movement.

We are sure that if General Eisenhower were alive today he would be in the forefront of the Peace Academy Movement. "Toward a Golden Age of Peace" address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke about armaments as follows: "This is not a way of life, at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron". Generals MacArthur and Bradley shared his zeal and serious concern for peace.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Society suggests that an appropriate name for a peace academy would be "Eisenhower Academy of Peace", and a most appropriate location would be the Gettysburg area where he lived out his retiring years and where his home is now open to the three million visitors who annually come to Gettysburg. His associations with this community and Gettysburg College add additional lustre to Abraham Lincoln's associations with this town.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Society was organized as a nonprofit corporation by a distinguished list of citizens, and we call your attention to the list of honorary life members shown on this letterhead.

**DWIGHT D.
EISENHOWER
SOCIETY**
Gettysburg,
Pennsylvania 17325

*Rev. Robert A. MacAskill
President*

*Henry M. Scharf
Past President*

*Charles W. Wolf
Past President*

*Honorary Life Memberships
Mamie Doud Eisenhower
General Lauris Norstad
General Alfred N. Gruenther
The Honorable Fred Schwengel
Governor William W. Scranton
(Ambassador to U.N.)
Dr. Edward L. R. Elson
David Eisenhower
Gov. Richard L. Thornburgh*

The Society stands willing and able to do anything it can in advancing the formation of an Academy of Peace.

Sincerely yours,

Charles W. Wolf

CWW/jks

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
1201 INTERCHURCH CENTER, 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10115
Telephone 212-870-2005

William P. Thompson, Stated Clerk
Otto K. Finkbeiner, Associate Stated Clerk and Treasurer
Rev. Robert F. Stevenson, Associate Stated Clerk
Rev. Robert T. Newbold, Jr., Associate Stated Clerk
Mildred L. Wager, Assistant Stated Clerk

April 27, 1982

The Honorable Robert T. Stafford
United States Senate
Chairman, Subcommittee on Education
Arts, and Humanities
4230 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

ATTENTION: Ms. Tricia Faith

Dear Senator Stafford:

In anticipation of the final report of the President's Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, the 193rd General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (1981) adopted a resolution urging the establishment of a National Peace Academy. A copy of the resolution is enclosed.

We understand and affirm the purpose of such an academy: to provide education, training and research in peacemaking and conflict resolution. Accordingly, we believe that such an academy could help reduce the level and incidence of international violence and would be a demonstration to all of our global neighbors of our national commitment to the peaceful solution of conflict. Given the possibility that even the noblest of ideas can be politicized we also realize that a Peace Academy must be established in a way that assures that its administration, its policy and its daily operations remain sympathetic to the goal of peace with justice, and to non-violent methods of conflict management and resolution. Such a commitment is essential given the complexities of today's, international scene.

We hope that you will give the Peace Academy your support.

Would you please share this with members of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources as you consider this matter? I will be grateful also if you will enter it as part of the written record of your committee.

The United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. would be prepared to have a spokesperson give testimony if this would be helpful. Please inform me if that is appropriate. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Wm. P. Thompson
William P. Thompson

WPT/ea
Encl:

the United Presbyterian Church

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The 193rd General Assembly (1981) of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. meeting in Houston, Texas, May 20-28, 1981, voted to concur in the following overture:

Whereas the Confession of 1967 states: "The church, in its own life, is called to practice the forgiveness of enemies and to commend to the nations as practical politics the search for cooperation and peace" (9.45); and

Whereas the Bible, in Isaiah 2:4, looks forward to a time when nations shall learn war no more, and the church wishes to contribute to the movement toward that time: and

Whereas the 192nd General Assembly (1980) recommended many peace activities, among them, offering "peace-international study programs in colleges and universities" and "encouraging expansion of peace studies and international relations activities on college campuses"; and

Whereas President Carter appointed a commission to study the feasibility of a Peace Academy; and

Whereas the National Peace Academy Board of Directors chairman, the Reverend John P. Adams, Director of the Department of Law, Justice, and Community Relations of the United Methodist Church, has declared "the peaceful solution of conflict has been developed, there are concepts which can be learned," and there is need now for an academy dedicated and equipped to train persons in the peaceful solution of conflict; and

Whereas the committee report presented to President Carter on September 11, 1980, recommended the enactment of legislation to establish a United States Academy of Peace to provide education, training, and research in peacemaking and conflict resolution; and

Whereas the committee findings indicate such an academy could be cost effective nationally by saving billions of tax dollars lost yearly in direct and indirect conflict-related expenditures, and

Whereas a Peace Academy could reduce the level and incidence of international violence; and

Whereas current efforts of federal and private institutions to "wage peace" are neither well-developed nor concentrated enough to sufficiently reduce the changes of conflicts erupting into large-scale violence and destruction; and

Whereas the desire for peace is not sufficient. Peace must be more than an absence of conflict--peace must be the presence of justice; and

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Whereas a National Peace Academy would be a demonstration to all our global neighbors of our national commitment to the peaceful solution of conflict;

Now therefore the Presbytery of the Northern Plains in stated meeting held at West Fargo, North Dakota, January 22-23, 1981, overtures the 193rd General Assembly (1981) of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to request that both President Reagan and Congress, with all possible speed, set about to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

FCNL
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 547-6000

April 30, 1982

Senator Robert T. Stafford
Chairman
Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Re: Bill S.1889

Dear Senator Stafford:

We write to express our support for the concept of a United States Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. We commend you for the hearings before your subcommittee and the speedy action which your subcommittee is taking on the bill S.1889.

We have had a long time interest in this concept as evidenced in the testimony I gave July 22, 1980 before the Congressionally Chartered Commission to study this concept. We believe such an Academy can make a useful contribution to peace, especially if it:

(1) is enabled to make a fundamental examination of the root causes of war and the requirements for lasting peace;

(2) is reasonably free from political pressures of the moment so it can carry on its work in a spirit of independent inquiry; and

(3) can increase awareness of the value of conflict resolution techniques and expand the number of people who can capably use such methods.

The bill before you attempts to meet these objectives. Section 5(b)(4) contains broad authority for basic research on peace:

> The Academy may conduct research and make studies, particularly of an interdisciplinary or of a multidisciplinary nature, into the causes of war and other international conflicts and the elements of peace among the nations and peoples of the world, including peace theories, methods, techniques, programs, and systems, and into the experiences of the United States and other nations in resolving conflicts with justice and dignity and without violence as they pertain to the advancement of international peace and conflict resolution;

Robert P. Fetter Clerk, General Committee   Ralph Rose Clerk, Executive Committee   E. Raymond Wilson Executive Secretary Emeritus
Edward F. Snyder Executive Secretary   Frances E. Neely Legislative Secretary   Ruth Flower Legislative Secretary
William E. Hartzler Associate Secretary for Administration   Nick Block Finance Secretary

Section 9 attempts to assure an independent status:

(a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the Academy shall not be considered a department, agency, or instrumentality of the Federal Government. Nothing in this Act may be construed as limiting the authority of the Office of Management and Budget to review and submit comments on the Academy's budget request at the time it is transmitted to the Congress.

(b) No political test or political qualification may be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking any other personnel action with respect to any officer, employee, agent, or recipient of Academy funds of services or in selecting or monitoring any grantee, contractor, person, or entity receiving financial assistance under this Act.

In addition, the Academy would be separately incorporated as a non-profit corporation in the District of Columbia and could receive private as well as public contributions.

In our original testimony we emphasized the need to augment our nation's resources already available in private colleges, university and other institutions. We are very glad to note Section 5(c) which provides:

> The Academy may undertake extension and outreach activities under this Act by making grants and entering into contracts with institutions of postsecondary, community, secondary, and elementary education including combinations of such institutions, with public and private educational, training, or research institutions including libraries, and with public departments and agencies including State and territorial departments of education and of commerce. No grant may be made to an institution unless it is a nonprofit or official public institution. A grant or contract may be used to--
>
> (1) initiate, strengthen, and support basic and applied research on international peace and conflict resolution;
>
> (2) promote and advance the study of international peace and conflict resolution by educational, training, and research institutions, departments, and agencies;
>
> (3) educate the Nation about and educate and train individuals in peace and conflict resolution theories, methods, techniques, programs, and systems;

(4) assist the Academy in its publication, clearinghouse, and other information services programs; and

(5) promote the other purposes of this Act.

In our opinion, a crucial question in the effective development of the Academy will be the relative allocation of resources as between the Washington based public institution and private institution referred to in 5(c). We hope great emphasis will be placed on expanding the private institution to help save administrative costs, to take advantage of existing expertise and to help assure increased independence from specific governmental pressures.

We are impressed with the scope of programs for education and training on peace and conflict resolution set forth throughout the bill. Since the thrust of this bill is so much related to conflict resolution, we regret the deletion of those words from the title of the Agency. In this regard we prefer the language of H.R.5088 which would establish a "United States Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution."

We urge speedy Senate approval of the proposed Academy.

Sincerely yours,

Edward F. Snyder

Edward F. Snyder

EFS/rs

P.S. We would appreciate your including a copy of this letter in the hearing record.

L-22

Interaction Associates Inc.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM J. SPENCER
ON S. 1889, THE U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE ACT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ART AND HUMANITIES
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

6226 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

April 21, 1982
10:00 a.m.

* * * *

Mr Chairman, Honorable Senators, Friends:

My name is William J. Spencer. I am Senior Associate in the San Francisco office of Interaction Associates, Inc. I had the honor of serving as Director of the United States Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution during its term of December 1979 to February 1981. The Bill you consider today, S.1889, is a direct result of the work of our Commission and it is for this reason that I am especially pleased to address the Subcommittee on this timely and serious topic.

I am personally indebted to the nine members of the Commission - and especially to its Chairman, the Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga, for the opportunity and honor to guide the work of the Commission, and the ultimate recommendation of a similar version of the legislation which is before you today. Likewise, I am grateful to the members of the Human Resources Committee - under whose vision - and previous hearings in May, 1976 was born the Commission and the bounty of its indepth deliberations.

For the record, I also wish to thank the fifty-four staff members and advisors serving the Commission. For fifteen months my colleagues gave of themselves to diligently work to plan, research and execute the Congressional Mandate set out for the Commission by the 96th Congress. The final report of the Commission, To Establish the United States Academy of Peace stands as much of a tribute to their own committment to international peace as that of the several thousand witnesses, citizen participants and experts who joined in our investigation.

185 Berry St., No. 2 China Basin Building, Suite 150, San Francisco, CA 94107 (415) 777-0590
Offices in San Francisco, New York, Richmond, Virginia

I commend to you for your most serious consideration, the final report of the Commission and offer it in its entirety as part of the official record of this hearing.

I most fervently urge you to take to heart and favorably recommend to the full Committee and Senate the final recommendations of the Commission, as included in S. 1889, to establish the United States Academy of Peace.

The work of the Commission - including over 250 hours of meetings, 7,000 pages of oral and written testimony, research findings, meeting notes and the direct participation of thousands of citizens in 12 public seminars and special meetings - lead the Commission to the conclusion that the United States of America should create a new and vital institution to focus American efforts in the cause of peace. I hope that you will weigh the work and recommendation of the Commission appropriately in your own deliberation.

That which is proposed in S. 1889, is practical, patriotic and cost effective - even in the difficult economic and political times in which we find our country and world. No single action was seen by the Commission as more relevant to America's ability and willingness to understand, promote and engage in international peace than the enactment of the legislation before you.

I refer you to the final report of the Commission for the greatest part of my testimony. I do wish however, to briefly mention here, some of the more personally significant aspects of the Peace Academy concept, including my concerns and hopes for the future of this new American Institution. In brief, what are the primary features and benefits of the Peace Academy concept which make it such a practical and valuable idea?

The Significance of the U.S. Academy of Peace

At a time when this administration is looking for ways to save money and return the power of citizen decision making to the people, the peace academy proposal should come at a receptive point in American history. In a world where the current administration is trying to beat the Soviets to the doors of opportunity which internal crisises provide around the world, it is in the security interests of the U.S. to consider further developing and supporting its already maturing expertise in mediation and concilitation skills. The contribution of the Peace Academy would be totally unique in this regard among all other existing institutions.

The essence of the Peace Academy concept rests with the profound potential of the Academy to sanction collaborative global problem solving at the highest level. If we as Americans and members of the world community never agree on the problems facing us, we will never agree on the solutions to these complex problems. If we exclude citizens and those affected by change from participating in understanding and planning for that change, we are bound to cause further conflict.

One of the most practical benefits and features of the U.S. Academy of Peace will be in its training and research designed to educate Americans about the skills and techniques of conflict management.

One of the most practical benefits and features of the U.S. Academy of Peace will be in its training and research designed to educate Americans about the skills and techniques of conflict management.

In the coming decades, Americans will be faced with more change than ever in their history. The boundaries of our tradition, culture, commerce and way of life will be pressed severely by our growing population, decreasing resources and escalating reliance upon technology to solve our problems. The forces of change in our society will be so incredible that in order to manage conflict within society and to preserve our American heritage, we as a nation will have to adapt to change so profound that we will have no way to predict the effects of such change. Those Americans who will be challenged in international diplomacy, business and social affairs to deal with change must become managers of the process of change as much as managers of the changes themselves.

The major problem caused by change is how you proceed in dealing with it. The thrust of the U.S. Academy of Peace is to prepare our leaders and future leaders to understand the process of change. We can predict, respond and manage the process of change, but we will never be able to predict the changes themselves. Therefore, the hope for international peace rests with our efforts to manage the process. The peacemakers of the future will be managers of process, more than of the cause of disputes.

Cost Savings

Throughout the work of the Commission, the question of the cost-effectiveness of the U.S. Academy of Peace was raised - by the Commissioners, participants, witnesses and staff alike.

Upon leaving my position as Director of the Commission when it concluded its work, I returned to the private sector to engage in "hands-on" dispute intervention with some of America's largest corporations. During this time, I have learned much to further understand the cost-effective potential of the U.S. Academy of Peace. My company, Interaction Associates, Inc. is a management consulting firm specializing in collaborative problem solving, non-adversarial decision making and third party facilitation. The firm has served the consulting and training needs of Fortune 500 corporations, state and federal agencies and non-profit organizations for twelve years. Interaction provides tools, strategies and road maps to assist individuals in organizations to make more effective decisions, thereby increasing productivity, profitability, satisfaction and quality.

The company is internationally recognized as process experts in group decision making as it applies to meetings, and in dispute management between internal divisions of companies. The company has made pioneering contributions to the emerging fields of environmental dispute resolution, productivity improvement, strategic planning and alternative dispute resolution of business conflicts.

Much of our work with companies is directly transferable to the international level - in terms of dispute prevention, intervention and process management. Recently, a study made by one of the largest corporations in America indicated the potential for a 84% return on their investment in the same types of skills and techniques which would be central to the learning at the Academy of Peace. The study conservatively estimated the potential savings to the company to be close to $50 million per year.

Savings for a nation would of course be much greater, although actually the cost of the Academy itself is relatively small.

During the Commission's hearings in Boulder, Colorado, the eminent economist Kenneth Boulding, past president of the American Asociation for the Advancement of Science, and the American Economic Association, testified that the economic rate of return on even a moderately successful Peace Academy would be 10,000 per cent per annum. Translated to practical terms, that would mean that if Professor Boulding's estimates are correct -a government and private sector investment of 30 million dollars would result in spectacularly high dividends. At first hard to believe, these savings become more believable if one imagines the savings which might be accrued in just one month if skilled third parties were in place to facilitate the Falkland Island dispute, rather than pay for the extended voyage of the British Fleet into the South Atlantic.

In these times, peace is the process of finding the most sensible form of conflict resolution to fit a given dispute. I would like to commend the members of the Committee for their own commitments to peace and refer you all once again to the final report of the Commission just concluded. Specifically, in closing, I would like to refer you to the Boston testimony of Harvard professor Herbert C. Kelman who stated:

> To establish and maintain peace under the conditions of the contemporary global system requires a variety of new approaches, both within and outside the framework of traditional diplomacy. Moreover, it requires active attention, not only to the day-to-day issues of national and international politics, but also to the larger social and psychological processes within national and global societies on which the creation of a peaceful and just world order depends in the long run.

Kelman's "variety of new approaches" encompasses the concept of a continuum — a range of options — and is basic to the American experience of conflict resolution. Our future and hope as a nation - and world - may very well rest on our ability to see ourselves in this continuum, seeking cooperation and involvement rather than adversity and isolation.

The Commission came to the conclusion that the U.S. Academy of Peace is essential to America's continuing leadership among nations for justice and peace. I support that hope.

Thank you.

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MANOA
2465 Campus Road, Campus Center 208
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

A RESOLUTION
Senate No. 28-82

TO SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LEGISLATION OF SENATOR SPARK M. MATSUNAGA CREATING A UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT SENATE:

WHEREAS, The threat of regional and global conflict is at dangerously high levels; and

WHEREAS, Students are among the victims of this hostile global environment; and

WHEREAS, Students continue to enjoy the freedom to pursue constructive academic and career goals; and

WHEREAS, Some students pursue academic and career goals at one of four U.S. military academies and one of five nationally funded war colleges; and

WHEREAS, There presently exists no corresponding institution for students to study, develop and improve conflict resolution skills; and

WHEREAS, U.S. Senator Spark M. Matsunaga has introduced legislation to establish a United States Academy of Peace, which the other members of the Hawaiian delegation to the United States Congress have co-sponsored; and

WHEREAS, The legislation provides that the Academy should be an independent institution to specifically train Americans and other persons in the art of conflict resolution, undertake research, and initiate information services affecting peace making; and

WHEREAS, The Board of Directors of the Academy of Peace is empowered to develop an outreach program involving states and territories in its training, research and public information activities; and

WHEREAS, The Hawaii State Senate and House have passed resolutions endorsing this legislation; and

WHEREAS, The endorsement of the undergraduate student body of the University of Hawaii would lend significant momentum to this national movement; now, therefore

Resolution No. 28-82
April 8, 1982
Page 2

BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE ASUH SENATE ENDORSE ANY MEASURES LEADING TO THE PASSAGE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING A UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE; AND

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED THAT COPIES OF THIS RESOLUTION BE TRANSMITTED TO THE HONORABLE RICHARD S. H. WONG, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE HAWAII STATE LEGISLATURE; THE HONORABLE HENRY PETERS, SPEAKER OF HAWAII STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; RONALD REGAN, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE; THE SPEAKER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; SENATOR ROBERT T. STAFFORD, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES; REPRESENTATIVE DANTE B. FASCELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS; AND TO EACH MEMBER OF THE STATE OF HAWAII'S DELEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

ROLL CALL VOTE:

Ayes:	Senators Au, Bonilla, Browning, Comilang, Mickelson, Morrill, Shimizu, Swissler, Tsuji, Unabia, G. Wong, R. Wong, C. Young, Secretary Suenaga (14)
Nayes:	(0)
Abst.:	Girimonti (1)

ADOPTED BY THE 1981-82 ASUH SENATE ON APRIL 8, 1982.

INTRODUCED BY SENATOR MICKELSON

CERTIFIED AS TO ADOPTION AND FORM:

Presiding Officer

Mary Suenaga
ASUH Secretary

NEIGHBORHOOD JUSTICE CENTER
OF HONOLULU, INC.

RECEIVED APR 2 0 1982

TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF THE PEACE ACADEMY

Testimony submitted to Robert Stafford
Senate Subcommittee
Education, Arts and Humanities
of the Committee on Labor and
Human Resources

1538 Makiki Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
(808) 949-1017

Re: S. 1889

Also, identical testimony is submitted to

Dante Fascell, Chairperson
International Operations
Subcommittee of the House
Committee on Foreign Affairs

Re: H.R. 5088

This testimony is from the Neighborhood Justice Center of Honolulu drafted by Vice President Bruce Barnes.

What is the Honolulu Neighborhood Justice Center?

The Honolulu Neighborhood Justice Center at this time is two years old, consisting of 120 volunteer mediators and five salaried staff. It is a center for dispute resolution in Honolulu utilizing only mediation as the method of solving disputes. The primary method has been individual mediators, but panel mediation is also being used. The Honolulu Justice Center has close ties with the whole judicial system in Hawaii. This testimony is submitted on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Justice Center of Honolulu, a non-profit organization organized under the laws of Hawaii. A brochure from the Neighborhood Justice Center of Honolulu is attached. The purpose of this testimony is to relate to you our experiences with mediation as a process in dispute resolution and for peacemaking, and to express our support for the concept of a national

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Peace Academy. We wish to support all Peace Academy efforts and emphasize mediation as a major area for study and focus for the Peace Academy.

Hawaii Experience

So far, the Neighborhood Justice Center of Honolulu has received nearly 2,500 cases, brought 32 percent to mediation, and resolved another 21 percent through conciliation. Eighty-five percent of all cases reach agreements and 75 percent of those agreements hold up. Every resolved case is followed up within 60 days and the disputants report high rates of satisfaction. The Center has firm referral arrangements for 25 government and community organisations, among them District Court, Family Court, the Prosecutor, Legal Aid Society, Honolulu Police Department, the Consumer Protector, the Department of Regulatory Agencies, and many other groups. Seventy percent of the Center's cases are referred by these agencies. The Center's cost per resolved case in fiscal year 1980-81 was $114 and the average time per case of intake to disposition was 12 days. The Center currently has trained 126 volunteer mediators, each of whom has completed 40 hours of instruction. The Family Court now routinely refers all visitation disputes to the Justice Center and has entered into a controlled experiment to evaluate the use of mediation in more difficult custody cases. The Neighborhood Justice Center of Hawaii (NJCH) is governed by a board of 16 directors representing a broad spectrum of community constituencies and agencies that actually use the services. Since its inception, the Center has been evaluated by the Institute of Social Analysis in Reston, Virginia, and compared with other centers operating in Washington, Dallas, Atlanta, Kansas City and Los Angeles. Interim quarterly reports since early 1980 indicate high rates of success. The Center has been asked to provide technical assistance and training for other programs in Hawaii and Canada.

The success of mediation in Hawaii may also be linked with the multi-cultural base in Hawaii. It is noted by people working in Hawaiian and Asian cultural settings, and also in many Polynesian cultures, that dispute resolution methods such as mediation seem to be very successful. Thus, we would project that international disputes involving Asian and Polynesian cultures would also be amenable to mediation, since those cultures include mediation techniques historically.

Within international law, mediation has been a procedure utilized fairly extensively. Often, it has been confused with good offices in the past and in the international context, mediation is often described as the mediator actively participating in the settlement itself. The mediator role at the international level might be carried out by a third state, by a group of states, by an individual, or by an agency of an international organization. Regardless of the nature of the mediator, he or she is expected to offer concrete proposals for a settlement of substantive questions instead of merely making the negotiations possible. Therefore, the mediator assists the parties directly. The mediator might meet with the parties either jointly or separately. The mediator's functions come to an end when the dispute is settled or when one of the parties or the mediator decides that the proposals made by the mediative are not acceptable. It should be noted that the proposals submitted by a mediator represent nothing more than advice; under no condition can they be taken to possess any binding force on either party to the dispute. We can see that under this description, the type of mediation done at the Honolulu Justice Center has a slightly different aspect to it. Examples of international mediation are numerous; including mediation by the Pope Leo XIII of the German-Spanish dispute over the Caroline Islands group in 1885, mediation by the U.S. between Spain and Bolivia, Chile, Equador and Peru in 1866, the request for mediation addressed to five Latin American presidents by the president of Equador in 1938, the mediation of Dr. Ralph Bunche in the negotiations ending the phase of active hostilities between Israel and Arab neighbors in 1948, and the mediation by the United Nations in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, as well as U.N. attempts to mediate between Israel and Israel's old enemies after the 1967 conflict in the Middle East. In 1947, the 20 states represented at the Inter-American Defense Conference meeting in Brazil adopted unanimously a proposal for joint mediation of the civil war then in progress in Paraguay. Of interest in the present Falkland Island dispute might be the 1936 Buenos Aires conference which drafted a treaty on good office and mediation, providing for a single mediator to be chosen from a panel of available citizens of the Western hemisphere. An aspect of that treaty is a provision for lack of publicity in the settlement of disputes with completely confidential proceedings. Early invocation of such a mechanism may well have helped to prevent the current Falkland Islands dispute, and indeed an established mechanism might have further lessened some of the problems of the Iran situation in recent history.

We may perceive that mediation is somewhat under-utilized in international law and the resolution of international disputes in the modern context. Some qualities of mediation that are apparent to us are as follows:

A. Mediation is a process that can be taught to most people. It is an art and is not a science.

B. It concerns the future behavior of the two parties to the dispute, and need not involve fault-finding for past behaviors.

C. The dispute is not handled indirectly through attorneys or agents but is more direct, involving the actual parties to the dispute themselves.

D. Aspects of compromise and negotiation provide for face-saving mechanisms for the parties involved and more flexibility in resolution of the dispute.

E. The situation is win-win in that both parties have an opportunity to benefit and win and not a win-loss situation as might be found in an international court.

F. Mediation, in our experience, has been best suited for certain types of problems and disputes, but not necessarily for all types of disputes.

Conclusions

Mediation is a rapidly-growing dispute resolution method whose total role and scope in solving the world's problems only now is being developed. Which types of disputes may best be mediated at the international level and how international mediators should be trained is a good area for the proposed Peace Academy to take up. We strongly recommend this technique and look forward to sharing information and learning about this exciting tool together with a successful Peace Academy.

Sincerely,

Neighborhood Justice Center of Honolulu

IN SUPPORT OF THE PROPOSAL TO CREATE A NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY

The Institute Against Violence, concerned with violence in its many manifestations and variations, supports all proposals designed to lessen conflicts and violence in world society. We therefore support the creation of a National Peace Academy. I do, however, disagree with the purposed composition of the appointed officers. To be effective, the Academy must not have any political orientation. Appointments made by the President, the Congress or political parties, will simply come to reflect differing political views and alternately become as narrowed in its deliberations as the United Nations. The make-up of the governing body must emanate from the associations of political scientists, science, psychology, economics and also of the various religious bodies.

To understand to any degree the immensity of achieving peace in this world one must have some appreciation of the totality of violence. The Institute Against Violence defines violence as "to do injury to person or property either physically, economically, emotionally, morally, politically or spiritually." International warfare, as such, is but one facet of violence. It's moreover, the most respected form of violence because it is sanctioned by the State and rewards are given for proficiency in killing. When you consider that in daily living parents abuse children, children abuse parents, men rape women, people are killed by other people for pennies or even pleasure, human torture is a common practice, and masses cheer when political opponents are publicly executed, you might have some comprehension that violence is inbred and a vital part of the human psyche. Therefore, the hopes of achieving world peace without a broad base of human understanding is to engage in an exercise of futility. That is why I propose the kind of makeup of the Governing Board of the Academy heretofore suggested.

As I interpret the concept of the National Peace Academy it is in essence an instrument to explore and find alternatives to war. In this regard the Institute Against Violence has been engaged since early 1980 in seeking a resolution for an International Non-Violence Day in the name of Mahandas K. Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King in the United Nations. Unfortunately, but for the opposition of our government, this proclamation could well be a reality.

In view of my experience in this direction, I somewhat despair of hope for a favorable response from our government. What is, however, important, in the proposal for a Peace Academy and for an International Resolution honoring Gandhi and King is that it stimulates thinking for alternatives to war. The Gandhi-King concept reminds the world - at least one day a year - that great political, social and economic injustices were resolved by non-violent action. The Peace Academy, on the other hand, will expand upon this experience and teach potential leaders how this objective was reached. In this regard, and for the wholesome concept a National Peace Academy represents, we offer our full support and encouragement.

The Institute Against Violence
Jules E. Bernfeld, Chairman
502 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

NATIONAL PEACE EDUCATION FUND
A WORKING AFFILIATE OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY CAMPAIGN
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* Denotes Former Commissioner
U.S. Peace Academy Commission

WILLIAM F. LINCOLN
Executive Director

Thank you for your contribution to the National Peace Education Fund Conflict Resolution Survey. You have helped to better understand the process of creating a positive environment for the resolution of minor and major disputes and for the promotion of Collaborative Problem Solving in organizations and at all levels of society. The ultimate goal is reduction of the cost of conflict, greater productivity and less violence.

Your response was one of 700 out of 3,300 requested. Each respondent described a method and case example which they had used, or had seen used to resolve or manage differences between individuals, groups, communities, or nations.

Completed surveys were returned by corporate managers, diplomats, civil servants, police, military, attorneys, clergy, housewives, retirees, teachers, academics, community dispute practitioners, mediators, arbitrators, social activists, politicians, medical doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, authors, and organization development practitioners. The survey's immediate purpose was to prepare testimony for Congress regarding the establishment of a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Altogether, the information submitted provides the most exciting data ever gathered on this important topic. It suggests that workable methods for Conflict Resolution, Collaborative Problem Solving, and Peace Making can be articulated and applied by integrating the knowledge, skill and practice that already exists.

The Federal Study Commission delivered its report to President Reagan on September 18, 1981. In November, two bills were introduced with 53 co-sponsors in the Senate and 80 in the House of Representatives. This letter contains a brief summary of major survey findings and a partial list of methods submitted. The information presented is based on case examples from the survey and does not reflect exhaustive Library Research of the Field.

Five Intentions

Each of the 700 methods submitted reflected one or more of five intentions of the persons using them.

A. To win or get attention through hard bargaining.

B. To make substantial gain through even exchanges (quid pro quo).

C. To minimize losses through compromise.

D. To satisfy complementary needs by dovetailing interests.

E. To get maximum mutual advantage by seeking consensus.

These five intentions determined the attitudes (e.g., from cooperative to adversarial), roles (e.g., from enforcer to participant), procedures (e.g., from litigation to mediated consensus), and specific behaviors (e.g., threat to active listening) used in the examples given. In effect, these intentions constituted the conflict resolution or "peace-making" strategy for the person or institution involved. Resulting outcomes varied (from A to E above) in their impact on both substantive matters and relationships, degrees of invasion or violence to persons, and mutual enthusiasm for outcomes.

Styles

In the methods and case examples submitted, individuals showed preference for one or more of four styles. These are Procedural, Personal, Political, and Spiritual. The first is a preferenc for Procedural methods; that is, methods that bring logic, order, rational focus, and systematic action to a situation. Examples included regulation, analysis of issues, interests, costs, assumptions, etc., or procedures to assure arbitration of issues at predefined points. A primary effect of these procedural methods is to promote conclusions, results, and definitive outcomes.

The second is a preference for Personal methods; that is, methods that increase interpersonal awareness by improving the way people listen look, move, talk and acknowledge each others' presence. Examples included informal meetings, rustic settings, counseling, close living quarters, and controlled discussions. The main effects of these personal methods were "getting attention", personalizing the situation, and fostering cooperation.

Third was a preference for Political methods; that is, methods for influencing large numbers of people without deep personal involvement on the part of the actor. Examples include speeches, symbolic visits, media events, theater, etc. A primary effect of these political methods were an increased loyalty from an audience and an increased influence over them by the actor.

The fourth was a preference for Spiritual methods; that is, those methods that evoked feelings of devotion to either God or other universal values as a solvent to differences with others. Examples include prayer and religious meditation. A primary effect of these Spiritual methods was to calm persons involved in a dispute and reorient perceptions to "higher" purposes.

Style	Examples	Effects
Procedural	Assumption Analysis Conflict Mapping Currency Analysis	Logic Rational Focus Systematic Action
Personal	Active Listening "I" Sentences Emotional Translation	Get Attention Personalize Situation Build Cooperation
Political	Symbolic Acts Speeches Media Events	Peer Pressure Create Awareness Motivate
Spiritual	Meditation Prayer Passive Resistance	Calm Fears Reorient to Higher Purposes

Respondents showed strong preferences for either Procedural or Personal or Political or Spiritual methods, with varying effects on results, cooperation, their own power, and reorientation to higher purposes. In some cases the four "styles" were integrated and seemed to produce the most wholesome effects, i.e., results, cooperation, influence and reorientation to higher purpose. In general, however, persons with one style of conflict resolution, collaborative problem solving or peace making, make those with another style uncomfortable. For example, a corporate manager concerned with procedures that produce results and a peace activist concerned with calling attention to national survival will often find each others' language and methods inflammatory. Similarly, psychologists concerned with interpersonal "relations" and "empathy" and a politician concerned with creating loyalties in a constituency will often find each other's language and methods inappropriate and not "worthy." However, each of these "styles" has an important perspective and a valid technology that deals with certain aspects of Conflict Resolution.

Collaborative Problem Solving, and Peace Making, and not others. The challenge, then, is to integrate these differences in terms of methods and practical application.

CONCLUSION

- The survey suggests that a method of conflict resolution, collaborative problem solving and peace making can be articulated; it would consist of ongoing efforts, roles, procedures, and specific behaviors for legitimization, definition, analysis, alternative generation, evaluation, decision making, education, and intervention.

- The components of this method are scattered among people in very different occupations and with fundamentally different values and preferred styles.

- The transfer of knowledge, skill, and practice from one context to another, and the application of different "styles" to the same conflict situation promises important improvements in Conflict Resolution, Collaborative Problem Solving, and Peace Making.

  On the other hand, if methods can be better understood and disseminated, a broad shift in context from adversarial to cooperative relations will be enhanced. The ultimate benefit is in reducing the cost of conflict, greater productivity, and less violence. An accessible inventory of techniques also will improve the chance that such alternatives will be used and adapted to individual styles, and the complex personal, corporate, community, and international situations involved.

- A fourth conclusion is paraphrased from the submission of Wallace C. Parker of Fall Creek, Oregon. . . . While methods are important to the science or art of conflict resolution, collaborative problem solving and peace making, they are not themselves the science or the art. No compendium of technology predicates a conceptual context. A methodological approach risks that conflict management will be coopted by its own advocates, who do not care enough for results, justice, or change, and for creativity in human affairs. The methods must be considered in context and in their intent.

As mentioned earlier, this information is to be presented in the Congressional hearings on the National Peace Academy, with an accompanying list of the submitters' names.

Specifically, I would like to hear from you with critique, ways to disseminate this information, and suggestions for bringing interested parties into association.

The following summary is representative of the Ongoing Efforts, Roles, Procedures, and Specific Behaviors described. In certain instances, names may have been misspelled. Please let us know if this is so.

Yours truly,

Charles E. Smith

Charles E. Smith
Chairman of the Board

SUMMARY

ONGOING EFFORTS

(Complex orchestration of roles, procedures and behaviors serving a single "task objective.)

Ongoing Efforts	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Graduated Reciprocation in Tension Reduction	Osgood Etzioni	International	Build Trust through Unilateral Positive Action
Negotiated Investment Strategy	Kunde	Urban Policy	Negotiated Proposal Development
United Nations Namibia Negotiation	Spencer	International	Support Same Goal for Different Reasons
The National Coal Policy Project	Murray	Industry-Environmentalists	Consensus on National Policy Issues
Center for Public Resources Legal Program	Henry Henderson	Corporate Litigation	Broker Alternatives to Litigation
Interaction Method	Doyle and Straus	Organizational and International	Reliable Structure for Collaborative Problem Solving
"Camp David" Conference	Smith	International Relations	"Frameworks" for Cooperation
Bank of America Consumer Relations Program	Dever	Corporate Banking	Facilitate Consumer Disputes
Law of the Seas Conference	Fisher	International	Negotiated Consensus
"Due Process" in Catholic Church	Kramis	Religious Organization	Predictable Reconciliation

ONGOING EFFORTS (continued)

Ongoing Efforts	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Critical Path Planning	Fuller	Corporate Government	Integrated Complex Planning and Action
Quality of Work Life Program	Wallace	Auto Industry	Collaborative Planning
Consensus Process in Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence in American Society	Eisenhower	National	Unanimous Decisions
Grievance Machinery	Kehter McGuire	Labor-Management Community	Predictable Redress
International Peace Academy Seminars	Rikki	International	Preconflict Planning
Iranian Hostage Demonstrations	Adams	International	Create Broad Awareness

ROLES

(Formally given or self-taken sets of responsibilities and behaviors)

Roles	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Negotiator	Williams	Government/ Industry	National Problem Solving through Equalization of Power
Activist	Smith	International	Introduce Peace Making
Enforcer	Ogilvy	Community	Enforcement of Law or Policy on Individual Transgressors

ROLES (Continued)

Roles	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Educator	Williams	Mideast Diplomacy	Seminars with Adversaries who would not normally meet
Arbitrator	Grubbs	Corporate	End Deadlocks with Equity
Shuttle Diplomat	Monture	Native Indian Territorial Disputes	Discover intangible issues in the way of agreement
Mediator	Neuman Greenwald	Community/Labor Racial	Professional Neutrality

PROCEDURES

(Explicit methods for one or more of the following: (a) legitimization of conflict resolution; (b) problem definition; (c) conflict analysis; (d) alternative generation (e) evaluation; (f) decision making; (g) education; (h) intervention.)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Principle Establishment	Wagner	Corporate Engineering	Find Common Goals
Imposed Silence	Marquardt	Social Service	Improve Reflective Thinking in Groups
Controlled Ventilation	Zimmerman	Organizational	Facilitate Negotiation
Unstated Assumption Analysis	Poullada	Southeast Asia Diplomacy	Lessen Irrational Fears
Theatre	Kornfeld Sevaik	Community Organization	Dramatise Factual Information

PROCEDURES (Continued)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Contracting	Burnsfield	Family Therapy	Cooperative Fulfillment of Needs, Wants and Expectations
Telephone Network	Ball	Airport Environmental Relations	Informal Unconstrained Relations
Currency Analysis	Barnes	Research Organization	Determine Alternate Currencies for Meeting Needs
Consensus Meetings	Carpenter Ferrell O'Donnell	Religious, Energy-International Human Rights, International Monetary Fund, Water Resources Policy/National Political Organization	Synthesis of Ideas and Values vs. Victory
Image Management	Ralls	Organizational	Emphasize Strengths vs. Weaknesses in Feeling, Thinking, Doing
Alternatives to Violence Workshop	Floyd	Prisons	Increased Self-Confidence
Ego Analysis	Klein	Organizational	Disengaging Self-importance from being "right" as prelude to Conflict Analysis
Pattern Analysis	Schroeder	Marital	Awareness of Inter-Generational Patterns

PROCEDURES (Continued)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Goal and Condition Analysis	Pease	Military Organization	Planning Based on Common Goals
Simulation Diagnosis	Olson	Education	Demonstrate Problem Patterns and Opportunities
Assertion Training	Smith	Corporate	Substitute Conviction for Aggressive or Weak Behavior
Work Together Toward Common Goal	Bean	Education	Diffusion of Goodwill Toward Differences
Emotional Translation	Landeman	International	Reduce Mistrust
Assumption Analysis	Holman Baum Poullada	Pastoral Counseling, Family Court, Racial Disputes	Find Common Concerns
Single Text Negotiation	Fisher	Law of Seas Conference	Dovetail Interests
Problem Solving Workshop	Kelman	Middle East	Shared Reality
Open End Interview	Roberts	Intra Corporate Dispute	Shared Reality
Asklepieion Game	Lawrence	Federal Prison Inmates	Awareness of Counter-productive Patterns
5-Step Conflict Resolution	Bridenbaugh	Marital Conflict	Systematic Conflict Resolution

PROCEDURES (Continued)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Role Negotiation	Volini	Manufacturing/ Marketing	Establish Clarity and Flexibility
HO-Oponome	Henderson	Family Disputes	Surface Subtle Motivations
Prior Attempts Analysis	Smith	Corporate	Uncharacteristic Behavior
Superordinate Goal	Margolis	Corporate	Find Common Concerns
Expectations Exchange	Plimpton	Organizational	Shared Reality
Videotape and Playback	Steinmetz	Community	Pinpoint Inflammatory Behavior
Maintain Contact	Fox	Prison Riot	Take Advantage of Breakdown in Internal Cohesion
Demonstration of Cultural Identity	Freeman	University Dispute	Allow Diverse Groups to see each other as intriguing rather than in conflict
Mock Awards and 198 Other Nonviolent Actions	Sharp	Community - International	Focus Attention on one's cause
Needs Assessment	Kaufman	Educational	Relate "Cost of Conflict" to Performance
Quality Circles	Karp	Corporate	Harness Worker Imagination and Ingenuity

PROCEDURES (Continued)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Conflict Mapping	Wehr	Organizational	Relate Conflict Analysis to Appropriate Intervention
Realistic Expectations Formation	Plimpton	Corporate	Clarity Expectations and Relations
Mapping Differences and Agreements	Maselko	Corporate	Analyse Possibility of Resolution
Problem Purpose Expansion	Volkers	Organizational	Broaden Perspectives on Problem
Role Reversal	Bourck	Education	Empathy for Others' Perspective
World View Analysis	Philpott	Pastoral Counseling	Understand Basis of Conflict
Relationship Analysis	Corrigan	Sales Administration	Clarify Perceptions of Relationship
Synectics	Moore	Organizational	Creative Problem Solving
Actionable Decision Making	Forbes	Education	Keep Focus on the Possible
Impartial Working Group	Krebs	Community Development	Diminish Power of Special Interests
Position Development	Lincoln	Environmental	Planning for Negotiation

PROCEDURES (Continued)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Power Simulation	Oehry	Organizational	Broaden Perspectives on Problem
Group Sculpture	Rayman	Organizational	Identify Power Relationships
Reframing	Diertl	Psychiatry	Shift Focus to One's Own Responsibility
Benefit Enhancement	Erdman	Corporate Data Processing	Provide Benefits of Conflict without the Conflict itself
Power Analysis	Johnson	International	Understand how further harm being done
Conflict Management	Deluca	Educational Counseling	Systematic action on Apparent and Actual Conflict
Diplomacy	Croke	International	Negotiation Advocacy
Community Board 4-Step Conflict Resolution	Schonholz	Community	Combine peer pressure with Systematic Problem Solving
Conflict Resolution Method Selection	Wickersham	All Levels	Fitting Resolution Model to Context
Objectives Management Method	Jolle	International	Redress Injustice through managed process of Definition Clarification--Power Analysis--Communication System Analysis--Negotiation

PROCEDURES (Continued)

Procedures	Source	Context	Principal Thrust
Expected Utility Analysis	De Mesquita	International	Predict Chance of Conflict
Urban Diplomacy	Rivkin	Community	Assure Representation of All Interests
EST Training	Kirtz	Community	Focus on Win-Win Behavior
Controlled Communication Workshop	Burton	International	Shared Reality
Cross Cultural Facilitation	Wedge	International	De-escalate Tension

SPECIFIC BEHAVIORS

(Acts involving personal behavior of individuals)

Specific Behaviors	Source	Application	Principal Thrust
Positive Attitude	Doyle	Corporate	Generates Optimism
Non-Violent Action	Hinshaw Small	Racial International	Non-Cooperation combined with Request for Fairness and Altruism
Withdrawal	Falls	Marital	Remove Debate Context
Relaxed Breathing	Olson	Environmental Law	Increased Acceptance and Caring
Eye Contact/Meditation	Schultz	Community Organization	Dissolves Negative Thought Patterns

SPECIFIC BEHAVIORS (Continued)

Specific Behaviors	Source	Application	Principal Thrust
"Going with" Resistance	Leon	Family	Reducing Resistance
Passive Resistance	Diller	Civil Disobedience	Neutralize Hostility through one's own calm
Repetition	Sailer	Cross Cultural Communication	Increased closeness and cooperative thinking
Sharing Risk	Collins	International Relations	Compel Understanding and Empathy for "Adversary"
"I" Sentence	Schenck	Organizational	Places Clear Responsibility on Self and Others
Distraction	Frederick Baldwin	Social Dispute International	Move Attention away from Anger
Dreaming	Bryson	International Education	Using intelligence available in dreams to look at old problems in new ways
Symbolic Acts	Kelman	Mideast Conflict	Reassurance and Enhancement of Self-Respect
Yesable Proposition	Fisher	International	Focus on the Possible
Meditation	Sherman Aron	International Community	Calm and Harmony
Active Listening	Kennedy	Family	Relationship in Inflammatory Situation

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1560 BROADWAY #807
NEW YORK NY 10036
212/869-3050

30 April 1982

TO: Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities
of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources

FM: Lea Singer on behalf of John Southworth, Honolulu

RE: National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution Hearings

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For the past two years Mr. Southworth has used the Electronic Information Exchange System (EIES) to exchange information on the NAPCR hearings. EIES is operated by the New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, and was originally funded by the National Science Foundation.

Attached is the print-out from the computer conferencing system EIES concerned the Peace Academy. The print-out is chronological, starting with June 1980, and ending with the transcript of the transmission of the hearings on April 21, 1982. A summary can be found in item c1030cc142 on page 16 of the attached.

I want to thank Alma Henderson of Senator Matsunaga's office for making the arrangements that allowed me to be at the hearing with my computer terminal to transmit summaries to Senator Matsunaga's constituents in Honolulu.

r
enclosure

C1029 CC52 HAWAII GROUP (HGROUP,121) 6/29/80 2:35 PM L:50 (ORIG.)
6/29/80 1:42 AM L:49 KEYS:/NAPCR/EIES AND PEACESAT INVOLVEMENT/ AS: 51

+READ C1029 CC52 for Peace Academy Telecommunications Demo

Items(0/0-0/Last 0)?+read c1029cc52
Peace Academy Introduction and Telecom Demonstration
By: Sid Rosen From: Crossroads
Chimes

The importance of the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution cannot be emphasized enough. Should it materialize, it will be the first national educational institution devoting itself solely to research and practice in peaceful methods of conflict resolution, both of a domestic and international nature. The other national academies are directed towards training military or para-military personnel. The Peace Academy will provide a countervailing force.

The scope of the Peace Academy, it appears, will require far greater emphasis on international contributions and participation than the military academies. The latter suggest an insular posture supported by the concept of immediate national self-interest. The Peace Academy on the other hand, addresses national interest in company with the interests of humankind as a whole, and, so will reach to incorporate the ideas that others can contribute and universally dispense ideas as well. The payoff comes from dispensing knowledge as widely as possible and not from withholding it for commercial or warfare purposes. There is not need for espionage here.

The Peace Academy may also support its structure, as a prototype, to other nations, thereby creating and being a party to a network of institutions engaged in research and methodological sharing. With this in mind, it certainly is important that other societies "get in on the ground floor." A sense of early contribution will surely help them feel that they are part of the creation and therefore enhance receptivity at a later date.

PEACESAT and EIES are particularly well-suited to providing a sense of participation not only during this period of creation, but on a continuing basis as well. Should the Academy come into being, they could be used to facilitate communication among other societies and the Academy as events unfold.

It seems to me that a demonstration of PEACESAT/EIES capabilities during th hearings in July will have a dramatic impact on the Commission and will prove compatibility between name and deeds.

A hookup during the hearings will allow people at other remote locations to communicate directly with the Commission, and to speak to the need for a Peace Academy. Their input may include the roles that they see for themselves in designing the institution and its curriculum, roles as teachers and students in the Academy, and the contributions that inter-cultural communication can make towards increasing harmony and tranquility.

C1029 CC52 HAWAII(10169) USING HAWAII GROUP (HGROUP,121) 6/30/80 6:42 AM L:57 KEYS:/NAPCR/LESLIE CARTER/INTRODUCTION/CROSSROADS/ AS 51

The Rev. Leslie H. Carter, Director of Field Operations for the U.S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution (2100 M St.,N.W., Washington, D.C., (202) 653-5665) provided a stimulating introduction to the upcoming hearings for a group at Church of the Crossroads yesterday morning.

* Fact: The decision whether to recommend the establishment of a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution to Congress will be made after the Honolulu hearings. Will others around the nation play a part via EIES? For more details, +READ C1029 CC53.

Summary of NAPCR Introduction by The Rev. Leslie H. Carter
Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, 29 June 1980

* Do we need an Academy to train people for peace and conflict resolution?

* What is the national commitment to peace?

* Will the federal government allow it?

* Is America ready to accept it?

These are some of the questions that the Commission will deal with in trying to reach a consensus for their report to Congress this Fall.

Perhaps significant is the fact that the hearings are being held around the country (e.g. Boulder, Portland OR, Columbus, Los Angeles, Dallas, Boston, New York City, Atlanta, Tallahassee, and Honolulu). This sort of searching out the public feeling should give added This sort of searching out the public feeling should give added credance to attempt to allow additional input via EIES from around the country and abroad.

Mr. Carter gave a good overview to the background and plans for the hearings in Honolulu. He said that there have been 140 initiatives since 1945 dealing with Peace (e.g. Peace Dept, Peace College, U of Peace, etc.) and all have failed. In 1978 Congress Public Law 95-561 was passed and created a Commission to study proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. The act spells out the sort of questions that need to be answered if such an academy is to come into being. The Commission is made up of 9 persons. (See following item) Three persons were selected by the President of the Senate, 3 by the Speaker of the House, and 3 by President Carter.

It has come to be evident that peace making and conflict resolution as it relates to individuals is an important element to consider. We cannot work on solving international peace when we continue to have problems with conflict in homes and communities.

Interactive electronic participation was utilized by the cable TV system of Columbus, Ohio. A vote of how much of the military budget should be used for peace was performed via the "Talk-Back" cable voting system. (What about trying it with EIES?)

Comments by Audience

Laura Richardson...I see a future...every church should hire a peacemaker who has gone through the Academy. That is one way to start. All of a sudden I am getting excited about two waves for the future:

1. The new telecommunications like John Southworth is demonstrating and

2. This Peace Academy idea.

Stella Ikeda...It seems that this should not be just domestic but a two-pronged domestic and international.

Carter...Well, there is some discussion as to how extensive can an Academy be to remain effective. It might lose effectiveness in diversity.

Kikue Takagi...I have been a volunteer at our Makiki Neighborhood Justice Center. That was patterned like the program in Atlanta. I see that as one way such peace makers could help in local conflict resolution.

Carter...I ran a program like that before. Congress may see the Academy as a funding source for such councils. A study of homicides indicates almost always a history of past conflict. Perhaps better resolution of those conflicts will provide social benefits to society in the form of fewer deaths.

Multinational businesses have indicated an interest in hiring or training peace makers at an Academy. This could provide for individuals to help create "win-win" situations for businesses in relation to those they deal with domestically and overseas.

Josephine Hudson...We have several Peace Corps graduates in this church. How would the Peace Corps relate to such an Academy? How would the work of Peace Corps fit in?

Carter...The legislative mandate includes examining the role of Peace Corps. It has been stated that Peace Corps would be an "essential" part of the Academy in that the Academy cannot be merely an intellectual institution. There is need for experiential programs and Peace Corps could offer that. That would make Peace Corps a more political entity. How would the rest of the world view that move? Can it be run outside of government or within the bureaucracy? There is seen the need for an independent board.

Elsie Ho...What about the relations with the United Nations?

Carter...There has been good reaction in that the Academy could provide important skills in conflict resolution that would aid members of the UN itself. It could help fill a serious void that exists at present.

Andrew Lind...Is there any real opposition to the concept of Peace, which seems so fundamental. The amount of military expenditure seems tragic but how do you deal with the international situation?

Stella Ikeda...I don't think the acceptance of peace is a foregone conclusion. The larger community has strong advocates to the theory that war will always exist and we therefore always need military strength to deal with it. This is the war mentality.

Carter...When we interviewed the War Colleges they saw peace but not without violence and the need to maintain a balance to thwart off the Communist threat.

With that, it was urged that all should continue the discussion as participatnts at the hearings July 7 and 8.

C1029 CC55 HAWAII(10169) USING HAWAII GROUP (HGROUP,121) 6/30/80 7:33 AM L:56 KEYS:/NAPCR/COMMISSIONERS/ A: 52

BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARIES OF NAPCR COMMISSIONS

SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, Chair. Senator, (D-Hawaii) since 1976; Member, House of Representatives, 1962-1976. Member, Senate Committees on Energy and Natural Resources, Finance, and Veterans Affairs. University of Hawaii, Ed.B.,; Harvard Law School, J.D. Distinguished military career, retiring from the Army Reserve with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Author, Rulemakers of the House, 1976 (requiring reading in political science and government study courses in 30 American universities.)

JAMES H. LAUE, Vice Chair. Director, Center for Metropolitan Studies, and Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri at St. Louis. Nationally recognized authority in the field of conflict resolution. Author of THIRD MEN IN NEW ARENAS OF CONFLICT, 1970; First National Workshop in Community Crisis Intervention, 1971; and PRINCIPALS OF COMMUNITY CONFLICT INTERVENTION: THEORY, PRACTICE AND ETHICS.

JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Member of Congress, (R-Ohio) since 1960; House Education and Labor Committee, Judiciary Committee, and Select Intelligence Committee (oversight of CIA, FBI, NSA and Defense Intelligence Agencies). Harvard College, B.S.; Ohio State School of Law, J.D.; Ashland College, Honorary L.L.D. Publishes the Johnstown Independent and three other central Ohio newspapers. Recipient of the Freedom Award from the Order of Lafayette in 1970 for "Outstanding Leadership in Combatting World Communism."

ARTHUR H. BARNES, President, since 1975, New York Urban Coalition, a group serving as a "catalytic force in bringing the resources of the private sector to bear on the problems of disadvantaged minorities in New York City." Formerly Vice President, Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, an organization which mediates community disputes and teaches techniques of mediation, negotiation and arbitration. Previously associated with Consolidated Insurance Companies for 21 years.

ELISE BOULDING, Professor and Chair, Dept. of Sociology, Dartmouth College. Formerly Professor, Dept. of Sociology, University of Colorado. Authority in the field of peace research. U.S. National Commission for UNESCO; Human and Social Development Program, U.N. University. Leadership roles in such organizations as International Peace Research Association, Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development, American Sociological Association, International Sociological Association, and American Association for the Advancement of Science. Author of eight books and over six dozen articles, pamphlets and chapters in other books in the areas of sociology and conflict/peace studies.

JOHN R. DELLENBACK, President, Christian College Consortium and Coalition, Washington, D.C. Formerly Member of Congress from Oregon, Director of the U.S. Peace Corps, college professor, practicing lawyer, and Naval officer. Serves on Board of Trustees of Howard University and Lewis and Clark College. Yale University, B.S., Phi Beta Kappa; University of Michigan Law School, J.D. Holds honorary degrees from Biola College, Friends University, New Haven University, Warner Pacific College, and Lane Community College.

(Continued in +READ C1029 CC56)

Items(#/#-#/Last #)?+read c1029cc56

NAPCR Commissioners, Continued

JOHN P. DUNFEY, founder and President of the Dunfey Hotels Corporation, operating 23 hotels in the U.S. and Europe; industrial developer, Maine and New Hampshire. Representative, African Trade Mission, U.S. State Department, September 1979; Member, National Committee, "Americans for SALT II," to engender public support for passage; Member, National Committee to raise funds and encourage citizen support for Senate approval of Panama Canal Treaty.

DAN GLICKMAN, U.S. Representative, (D-Kansas) since 1976. Member, Committees on Agriculture and on Science and Technology. Secretary-Treasurer of the 95th Congress Members Caucus and a member of the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future. Received J.D. degree from George Washington University, Washington, D.C. Serves on the National Alcohol Fuels Commission, the Democratic Caucus Ethics Committee, the Democratic Study Group, and the Environmental Study Conference.

WILLIAM F. LINCOLN, Center for Collaborative Planning and Community Services, Watertown, Mass.; formerly Director, New England Office of Community Dispute Services of the American Arbitration Association, Boston. Professional practitioner in resolving disputes related to public schools, special education, student desegregation, adult correctional facilities, public housing, Native American affairs, anti-discrimination agencies and community development. Lecturer, Harvard Univeristy Graduate School of Design, Dept. of City and Regional Planning; academic conference leader at Harvard and Antioch Law Schools.

Those nine individuals (minus one) will be attending the hearings on the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution to be held July 7 and 8 in Honolulu.

Persons wishing to "testify" over EIES should address either or both of

1. Should an Academy be formed; what structure and organization?

2. How could telecommunications and computer conferencing be used in the Academy?

C1029 CC59 JOHN H. SOUTHWORTH (HAWAII,321) 7/ 8/80 2:23 PM L:47
KEYS:/+READ FOR QUESTIONS ON NAPCR/HAWAII HEARINGS/ A: 51

The U.S. Congress has established a commission to study proposals for a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution; its purpose and goals; cost and size; the location; and its (the Academy's) relationship to existing Federal Agencies and institutions of Higher Education.

+READ C1029 CC59 for questions that might be used as points of reflection and comment that could be incorporated into testimony.

Items!#/#-#/Last #!?+a[illegible] c1029cc59
Question on a possible National Academy of Peace

1. Do you believe that how the U.S. deals with conflicts between nations is:
   - A. Slow and ineffective
   - B. Addressed by traditional methods of diplomacy
   - C. Implicit or explict on the possible use of force
   - D. Preventive and counters escalation into violence

2. Do you believe that "peace making" and "peace keeping" has advanced to a "state-of-the-art" for systematic application in:
   - A. Teaching skills in peace making
   - B. Examination of the "critical mass" of knowledge conducive to research and rigorous analyses
   - C. Problem solving and prognosis
   - D. Standardization of techniques and methodology in practice

3. Should the U.S. establish an institution or Academy dedicated to Peace and the peaceful resolution of conflict?
...yes ...no
If yes, should it (Congress) concentrate on the
International level ...yes ...no
Domestic level ...yes ...no
Both levels ...yes ...no

4. If an Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution were established, funding in whole or in part would probably come from the Federal Government
Currently Congress allocates $435 million per day to Defense.
Do you think a percentage on the Defense Budget should be allocated for alternatives, such as an Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution? ...yes ...no
If yes, what percentage ...1-5% ...5-10% ...10-25% ...over 25%

C1029 CC113 JOHN H. SOUTHWORTH (HAWAII,321) 1/10/82 1:39 PM L:53
KEYS:/ALSO CC52-59/NAPCR/MATSUNAGA/[illegible] NOV 81/PART 1 OF 2/+READ C1029CC113/
A: 59

24 Nov 81

MATSUNAGA WITH FIFTY-ONE CO-SPONSORS INTRODUCE BILL TO ESTABLISH U.S. ACADEMY OF PEACE

Washington, D.C. -- U.S. Senator Spark Matsunago (D-Hawaii), with Senators Jennings Randolph (D-West Virginia) and Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) as principal co-sponsors and 49 other Senators as co-sponsors, today introduced legislation providing for the establishment of a United States Academy of Peace. The proposal would carry out the recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, which submitted its final report to the President and to the Congress on October 20, 1981.

In total, 52 Senators, including the Hawaii lawmaker joined in introducing the bill, and Matsunaga, who served as chairman of the study commission, announced that similar legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives by Rep. Dan Glickman (D-Kansas), who served as a member of the commission.

In a speech on the Senate floor today, Matsunaga said that the proposed U.S. Academy of Peace would be an interdisciplinary institution devoted to international peace. It would serve institutions and individuals in both the private and public sectors through peace research, education, training and information services. Its work will focus on the elements of peace, the causes of war, and the skills needed to resolve international conflicts without violence. The Academy would respond to concerns and activities of members of Congress, the Executive Branch, and persons in private enterprise and voluntary associations. It would not be a policymaking institution and would not intervene in disputes.

"The Academy would be a federally-created, non-profit, independent corporation. Its core budget would come from federal appropriations, but it would also solicit private support. Its principal facilities would be located in the Washington, D.C. area, but it would develop outreach and extension programs to meet the needs of people throughout the country. It would provide graduate and post-graduate educational programs, for which students at institutions of higher education could receive credit, and conduct workshops and other continuing education services for public and private sector individuals and organizations aimed at developing and strengthening their conflict resolution skills; and it would conduct research and disseminate information based on its findings," explained the Hawaii lawmaker.

"In addition, a Center for International Peace would be established within the Academy to which leaders from this Nation and abroad would be appointed to study; and the Academy wo[illegible] establish an award of a Medal of Peace to be presented annually by th[illegible]esident of the United States," said Matsunaga.

"The estimated cost of such an Academy is very modest. Our bill would authorize the establishment of a $15 million fund for the purchase of facilities for the U.S. Academy of Peace, and provide a $6 million authorization for the Academy's first year of operations. $10 million would be authorized for the second-year operations of the Peace Academy -- making a total authorization of $31 million, which is less than one-tenth the cost of a single B-1 bomber," Matsunaga said.

"This is a modest cost indeed when compared to the cost of repairing the ravages of war and maintaining constant readiness for war," said Matsunaga. "Since the end of World War II, the United States has provided other nations with more than $236 BILLION in military assistance, economic and technical aid, much of it to repair the damage of World War II in Europe and the Pacific Basin.

"The U.S. Academy of Peace would not eliminate our need for a strong national defense and foreign aid, but by learning to cope with international disputes without resort to violence, we would increase our national security and reduce our reliance on costly weapons."

The U.S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution was chaired by Matsunaga and conducted its study of proposals for a national peace agency for a whole year.

"During that period 10,000 prospective witnesses were contacted and invited to testify at public hearings held in 12 American cities. (See C1029 CC52-59 for information on the Hawaii hearings.) Group discussions and individual interviews were also held by Commissioners and staff. The Commission found that methods of conflict resolution do exist and are in use at the local, state and national levels," Matsunaga said.

"However," he added, "this body of knowledge and skills has not been fully recognized or effectively utilized by the Federal Government."

The Commission concluded that there should be a focused federal investment in peace in the form of an Academy where national leaders and students from all walks of life would learn to apply such skills.

"Establishment of the U.S. Academy of Peace would enable us to say that peace really is the rational goal of rational Americans," said Matsunaga. "It would establish the United States as the first industrialized country in the world to take positive action toward insuring world peace in the future by teaching future leaders of the world the art of settling international conflicts without resort to violence."

C1029 CC116 JOHN H. SOUTHWORTH (HAWAII,321) 1/10/82 2:15 PM L:15
KEYS:/NAPCR/MATSUNAGA/CROSSROADS/10 JAN 82/ A: 114

Senator Spark Matsunaga is in Hawaii on a busy final week before the start of the 97th Congress.

Sunday, 10 Jan 82 he will kick off the first of several programs on the topic of the National Peace Academy at the 10:30AM (HST) service of Church of the Crossroads, 1212 University Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii. His remarks are entitled:

"Peace: A Rational Pursuit for Rational Americans"

At 5pm (HST) he will meet with some members of the Hawaii Coalition for a National Academy of Peace at the Religious Society of Friends Meeting House in Honolulu. This will begin the plans for greater citizen participation and awareness of the needs to assist in getting the NAPPC legislation passed.

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C1029 CC117  JOHN H. SOUTHWORTH (HAWAII,321)   1/11/82   1:46 AM  L:32
KEYS:/NAPCR/MATSUNAGA/CROSSROAD+READ C1029CC117/ A: 116
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Summary of Sen. Matsunaga's Crossroads Remarks

Sunday, 10 Jan 82, Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu --- Sen. Matsunaga began by reminiscing about attending Crossroads when he was a student at the nearby University of Hawaii. He saluted Crossroads for its long history of support of peace programs.

He reviewed the history of peace legislation in general and his Senate Bill 18-89, which is presently in the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. He thinks hearings for the bill may be in March of this year and that a "massive grass-roots effort" across the country is needed. He suggested individuals writing:

- Friends to campaign for support from their own legislators.
- Members of the Labor and Human Resources Committee.
- Editors of newspapers.
- Community organizations with affiliates around the country.

Matsunaga said, "The threat of nuclear war is one of the principal concerns of not only the American people but of citizens overseas." He quoted retired General Omar Bradley, "We know more about war than about peace. We know more about killing than about living.'

John F. Kennedy stated, in his inauguration address, that the pursuit of peace is not as dramatic as the pursuit of war but is vitally important.

Matsunaga said he felt the American people were ready for a National Academy of Peace and the peoples of the world look to the U.S. for leadership in that regard.

While a majority of Americans appear to feel war is inevitable, Matsunaga said, "Now is not the time for darkness...it is a time to light a candle for peace." He closed with the quote (and hope)...

Blessed are the Peacemakers
For they Shall Inherit the Earth.

C1029 CC120 CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398) 4/12/82 5:17 AM
L:57 KEYS:/NAPCR/DC HEARINGS/21 APR/PG 1/

PEACE ACADEMY IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME

JUDY MANN, WASHINGTON POST SERVICE

WASHINGTON - IT'S STIRRING, ISN'T IT, THE SIGHT OF THE BRITISH ARMADA, STEAMING ACROSS THE OCEAN TO RETRIEVE A TINY GROUP OF ISLANDS THAT 99.9 PERCENT OF THE WORLD HAS NEVER HEARD OF.

AS STRAINS FROM GILBERT AND SULLIVAN PLAY IN THE BACKGROUND, WE ARE SORT OF HOLDING OUR BREATH AND TRYING TO FIGURE OUT IF THIS IS FUNNY, TRAGIC OR RIDICULOUS.

IT'S PROBABLY ALL OF THE ABOVE, AND, AS SUCH IT IS A SPLENDID ILLUSTRATION OF WHY THE UNITED STATES COULD USE A PEACE ACADEMY. FIFTY-TWO SENATORS AND 104 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE HAVE ALREADY AGREED TO SUPPORT A PROPOSED PEACE ACADEMY THAT WOULD TRAIN MEDIATORS AND CONFLICT MANAGERS TO HELP NATIONS INVOLVED IN DISPUTES.

IT IT EXISTED ALREADY, THE U.S. COULD HAVE MADE AVAILABLE, INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, A FORCE OF EXPERT CONFILCT MANAGERS WHO COULD BE HELPING THE U.N., BRITIAN, AND ARGENTINA RESOLVE THE CRISIS PEACEFULLY DURING THE TWO WEEKS ITS TAKES THE ARMADA TO GT TO THE FALKLANDS.

MARK HATFIELD, R-ORE., IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL SPONSORS OF A SENATE BILL THAT WOULD PROVIDE FOR SOME $60 MILLION OVER THREE YEARS TO SET UP A PEACE ACADEMY. "WITH THIS FALKLAND ISLANDS THING BECOMING ALMOST A TRAGIC-COMEDY, THIS IS A TIME FOR SUCH A FORCE TO BE EXERTED ON THE SCENE OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT," SAYS HATFIELD. "WHAT A LOT OF PEOPLE DON'T REALIZE IS IT TAKES ONLY A SPARK OR IGNITION SWITCH TO BEGIN AN UNCONTROLLED EXPANSION OF VIOLENCE LEADING TO CONFLAGRATION.

"WE LIVE ON THE ABYSS OF NUCLEAR WAR," SAYS HATFIELD, "WAIT TILL ONE OF THE SUPERPOWERS GETS INVOLVED. WITH THE CRAZY RACETRACK WE'RE ON TODAY, WHAT'S THE OTHER SUPERPOWER TO DO? IT'S GOT TO GET INVOLVED, TOO."

REP. DAN GLICKMAN, D-KAN., IS THE CHIEF SPONSOR OF THE PEACE ACADEMY BILL AND DESCRIBES IT AS SOMETHING THAT COULD FUNCTION LIKE AN INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE, GENERATING EXPERTISE AND RESEARCH INTO BORDER CONFLICTS." THE U.N. IS NOTHING MORE THAN A PLACE TO AIR GRIEVANCES. THERE DOESN'T SEEM TO BE AN HARDCORE INSTITUTION WITH PEOPLE TRAINED TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS."

THE IDEA OF A PEACE ACADEMY WAS FIRST PROPOSED BY GEORGE WASHINGTON, SAYS HATFIELD. "IT'S NOT ONE OF THESE WILD, LIBERAL CONCEPTS." THIS PAST FALL, A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ISSUED A FAVORABLE REPORT ON IT AFTER HOLDING HEARINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY. THE NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY CAMPAIGN, HEADQUARTERED IN WASHINGTON, HAS HAD ITS MEMBERSHIP GROW FROM 3,000 IN JANUARY 1981 TO "WELL PAST 30,000" NOW, ACCORDING TO ITS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, MIKE MAMES, A NAVAL ACADEMY GRADUATE WHO SERVED WITH THE 7TH FLEET DURING WORLD WAR II AND KOREA.

While the Academy would also focus on conflict resolution in families, communities and labor-management relations, the growing support for the concept is a reflection of "the need felt across the country to do something about the world crisis," Mapes says.

The Senate has scheduled hearings on the Peace Academy bill for April 21. Glickman says the House will probably hold hearings sometime in May. It has the support of liberals and conservatives. "It has gotten more than a quarter of the House without a heck of a lot of public support," says Glickman. "This may be something we can truly forge a bipartisan, nonideological coalition with."

The Peace Academy proposal deserves the support of the public. As Mapes says, we haven't done much to institutionalize peace-keeping since the United Nations was formed 36 years ago. We've learned a lot about how to make war in the intervening years, but we have also learned something about how to make peace.

C1029 CC121 CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398) 4/12/82 5:29 AM
L:11 KEYS:/NAPCR/DC HEARINGS/21 APR/PG 2/ A: 120

The Peace Academy also deserves the support of President Reagan. If we can spend $257 billion in fiscal year 1983 to maintain an arsenal for war, we can certainly afford some $60 million to develop an arsenal for peace. President Reagan could do a lot worse politcally than embrace the Peace Academy, and as he has illustrated, he can do a lot worse diplomatically.

Think how helpful it would have been to have the Academy already in existence Instead of getting into hot water by stating that we were friends with both sides, Reagan could have announced that the United States was making available a cadre of the best mediators in the world to help Britain and Argentina reach a peaceful solution.

He would have been better off, and so would the rest of us.

CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398)
Nickname: HONOLULU

Telephone: (808)949-2220
Last active : 4/20/82 11:42 PM
Established : 2/18/82 1:36 PM
Last modified: 4/12/82 5:40 AM

Address:
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96826

Description:
Church of the Crossroads (United Church of Christ) was founded about 60 years ago. The congregation was an early pioneer interracial church in Hawaii. Crossroads has always been involved with issues of social/human concern. 1982 priorities of the UCC are PEACE and FAMILY LIFE. C1029 Moderated by Crossroads. The Rev. Anthony Robinson, Minister.

JOHN H. SOUTHWORTH (HAWAII,321)
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Last modified:11/29/81 2:46 AM

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University Avenue University of Hawaii Honolulu, Hawaii
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Description:
Educational Associate and Lab School teacher at U of Hawaii/Manoa Campus. Founded the Edu-Comp program here. My interests lie in the areas of planning for future educational technology, technology for handicapped, cross-cultural communication, oceanography (M.Sc.), science teaching, environmental concerns, and crafts (ceramics).

Group Membership:
Group: CPIE (20)
Title: Community & Public Information Exchange

Group: TRANSFORM (24)
Title: Transform network

Group: FUTURES RESEARCH (30)
Title: FUTURES RESEARCH

Group: APPLE USERS (34)
Title: APPLE USERS ON EIES

Group: VOCATIONAL REHAB. (45)
Title: VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF THE DISABLED

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NJIT Electronic Information Exchange System (040282)

Public Conference: TOWN MEETING (1030)
You are the only member active.
145 Items.    CC 148 Written on  4/21/82  12:29 PM

No items waiting.

Conference Choice?1,137-148

C1030 CC137  CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398)   4/21/82  10:17 AM
L:17 (ORIG.)                                                4/20/82  11:37
PM  L:17 KEYS:/NAPCR/


:C1029 CC122  The Rivka Network (Rivka,217)   4/20/82  11:27 PM  L:12
(ORIG.)                                      4/20/82   9:58 PM  L:12
KEYS:/ANNOUNCEMENT/NAPCR/PEACE ACADEMY/CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS/ A: 120

                        To celebrate 3 years on EIES,
                              HAWAII and RIVKA

                            Are proud to present
                              The Peace Academy
                          Congressional Hearings

                               Live! On-Line
                               Here in c1030

                            Weds, 21 April 1982
                        10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. EST


C1020 CC638  The Rivka Network (Rivka,217)   4/21/82  11:24 AM  L:4
KEYS:/EIES GOES TO A CONGRESSIONAL HEARING/C1030CC137/


     We are live at the Peace Academy hearings before the Senate Education
committee. We lost power but are back. The first panel is coming up,
c1030cc145 coming up. Rivka for Hawaii
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:C1029 CC123 CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398) 4/20/82 11:31 PM
L:42 KEYS:/NAPCR/CROSSROADS TESTIMONY/ A: 122

CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS
1212 University Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii, 96826
The Rev. Anthony B. Robinson, Minister
Telephone (808) 949-2220
April 20, 1982

TESTIMONY REGARDING THE PROPOSED NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PEACE

FROM THE MINISTER AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS

We, the Executive Council and Minister of the Church of the Crossroads, wish to express our continuing strong support for legislation to establish a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

It is our conviction that the United States and other nations of the world must begin to give serious and prolonged attention to the task of discovering and employing non-violent methods of conflict resolution. Given the number of conflicting interests in our world and the costliness of armed conflict we simply must make a serious commitment to the development of methods of conflict resolution which are alternatives to the use of military force. Establishment of such an Academy would demonstrate United States leadership in the search for peace.

We regard it as critical that such a Peace Academy have access to the decision making process within important institutions of the government of the United States and not be relegated to a peripheral position.

Sincerely,

(Signed: Anthony B. Robinson)

Minister and Executive Council

The Church of the Crossroads

C1030 CC139 CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398) 4/21/82 10:22 AM
L:23 KEYS:/NAPCR/C1029CC124/ A: 138

:C1029 CC124 PARTICIPATION SYSTEMS (PSI,700) 4/21/82 9:57 AM L:19
KEYS:/COMMENT FOR LEA SINGER FOR THE NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY HEARING/

Lea, it should be pointed out in the hearings that the National Peacy Academy planning includes telecommunications, and computer information storage and retrieval. Human life being transcient, human crises are transcient; the magnitude of the perceived crisis often depends on the speed with which information can be brought to bear. Computer conferencing, such as is illustrated by this participation, can allow the assembling of the thoughts and recommendations of many people who could help reduce the sense of crisis, and help achieve conflict resolution.

Clearly, the world today can no longer afford military solutions, for civilization if not much of human life could be devastated by a nuclear response. The National Peace Academy is a beginning to assemble the scholars and make the tools of crisis resolution more easily available.

May I, as a citizen, urge the Congress to establish a National Peace Academy, at least at the level of support of one of the three military academies. -Carl C. Clark

(Please send any message to me at EIES 868).

C1030 CC140 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 12:20 PM L:10
(ORIG.) 4/21/82 10:39 AM L:0
KEYS:/NAPCR/BACKGROUND/

For bios of the commission members, +read c1029cc55-56
For background.on the senate bill, +read c1029cc113-114

The National Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution would be a graduate level institution. The focus is peace learning. The U.S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution submitted its report to Congress last fall. Senate bill 1989 is now before the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

C1030 CC141 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 10:57 AM L:5
(ORIG.) 4/21/82 10:41 AM L:2
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARING/INTRODUCTORY REMARKS/

About 100 people are packed into the hearing room. Sen. Stafford is presiding. Sen. Jennings Randolph gave introductory remarks regarding previous efforts to establish a cabinet level peace department. "It is time to make peace somebody's JOB and not just everybody's business."

C1030 CC142 CHURCH OF THE CROSSROADS (HONOLULU,398) 4/21/82 10:42 AM
L:37 KEYS:/NAPCE/C1029 BACKGROUND/INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE/ A: 138

The background for EIES participation (underlying the significance) of Cv's comment, is to be found in C1029(EIES Public Conference on Religion and Technology) moderated by Church of the Crossroads in Honolulu.

This began in 1980 with the decision by Crossroads to utilize EIES at the Hawaii State Conference of the United Church of Christ. At that June 1980 meeting the body unanimously passed a resolution in favor of the NAPCR.

In July 1980, during the Honolulu NAPCR hearings, Crossroads utilized EIES (C1029CC50-60) for remote participation and awareness of the NAPCR progress. One of the events that seemed to impress the NAPCR Commissioners was a live MMN (Multi-Mode Node) synchronous conference using the ATS-1 communications satellite to allow persons in the Pacific Basin countries to talk live with the Commissioners. During that session, a summary was typed into the PLATO computer network.

Crossroads hope has been to encourage (as Cv emphasized so well previously) that the new electronic technologies should be seriously studied and utilized by the NAPCR in their work to both facilitate conflict resolution as well as to disseminate information on such techniques.

We at Crossroads wish you to extend greetings to you all in Washington and to thank Lea Singer for her important facilitation role in making this possible.

We hope others will take advantage of this important opportunity to communicate their feelings not only to our members of Congress but to their fellow citizens via EIES C1030.

John Southworth, Chairperson

Crossroads Communications Committee

C1030 CC143 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 1:03 PM L:20
(ORIG.) 4/21/82 11:15 AM L:0
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARINGS/MATSUNAGA/HATFIELD/JEPSEN/

Sen. Mark Hatfield: need to move ahead and build on structure

Sen. Matsunaga: commission held 12 public hearings: over 10,000 people were contracted: took unsolicited testimony: held over 50 meetings with other organizations. Peace Academy would have 3 functions: research (and support of research at other institutions), to provide graduate and postgraduate programs, and to provide continuing education services. Also, information services, to gather and disseminate information: also to establish an award, a Medal of Peace.

The Commission's report had 8 findings: 1) academy would advance the national interest, 2) special capacity to provide peace, 3)strong national security, 4)sharpen peace making capacity of America, 5) amplify peace learning, 6), 7), 8):

Sen. Roger Jepsen: referred to Rome, Carthage: Peace Academy budget for 2 years is $31 million, 50% for capital funding: that one F18 fighter costs $30 million and if they have to, should do with one less F18 to pay for peace academy.

C1030 CC144 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 11:22 AM L:12
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARINGS/BROWN/GLICKMAN/

Rep. George Brown (Calif): 750,000 signatures filed in California yesterday calling for a nuclear freeze. Referred to Jonathan Schell book. Says there should be a network of national peace academies from other countreis: networks are the promise of the future. Must make peace a lifetime concern.

Rep. Dan Glickman: concerned that name reflect not just peace but conflict resolution. Should be public/private partnership. Reading from Administration letter which says we cant afford it. Spending $100 million in FY83 for military bands. Never knew a soviet tuba to be a threat to the United States. Views it as part of cut defense budget. Would enhance power of u.s.

C1030 CC145 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 12:06 PM L:32
(ORIG.) 4/21/82 11:35 AM L:14
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARINGS/WITNESSES/

John Dellenback, former member, House of Representatives (R-Ore.), President, Christian College Consortium, Washington, D.C.

Dr. George W. Johnson, President, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA

Dr. James Laue, Dir., Center for Metropolitan Studies, U. of MO, St.L

Moorhead Kennedy, former FSO with State Dept./Iranian Hostage, Dir., Cathedral Peace Institute, New York

Dellenback: Value of a peace academy is priceless
Matsunaga: Thanks Dellenback for role on Commission
Johnson: Geo Mason has strong public administration program. [illegible] prototype curriculum on conflict resolution. Has been approved [illegible] will be offered as MS.
Sen. Randolph: Wants to know how many colleges in Dellenback's consortium - 63. Peace academy in Costa Rica.

Dr. Laue: Vice chair of the Commission: Thinks report is a good record. What might an academy do? Provide permanent, ongoing backup to military. Could maintain computerized data bank of all existed treaties. Could provide working group of professional mediators. Could conduct seminars for Congress on crisis issues. Could create a critical mass of thinkers for ongoing peace, not crisis management. Thinks "the 97th could go down as the peace Congress."

Mr. Kennedy: Thinks govt not paying enough attention to religion in international affairs. Difficult for Americans to accept that we cannot always win in a clear-cut way. Regarding hostage crisis, we employed conflict resolution and we won. Americans are conditioned to "winning." In business, Americans taught win-win. But not in political affairs. Need attitudinal change. Nobody is right all the time.

C1030 CC146 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 12:53 PM L:35
(ORIG.) 4/21/82 12:16 PM L:14
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARINGS/WITNESS PANEL #1/

Dr. David Conrad, Professor, Center for World Education, University of Vermont, Burlington.
Dr. Jerry Elmer, Director, American Friends Service Committee, Providence, Rhode Island
Dr. Joseph Fahey, Director, Peace Studies Institute, Manhattan College, The Bronx.
Dr. Kenneth Brown, Director, Peace Studies Program, Church of the Brethren, Washington, DC
Dr. Karl Mattson, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA
Dr. Bryant Wedge, Director, Center for Conflict Resolution, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA

Conrad: Likes Commission focus on peace learning.

Elmer (AFSC): Relationship of human rights and international peace.

Sen. Pell (Cate): Should academy be domestic as well as international? Referred to Sen. Symington and a proposal he had in the 1960s.
Fahey: Need info data base on conflict resolution

Brown: had first peace studies program in country: knows that graduate opportunities are limited: supports academy promoting peace learning at all educational levels: must get away from win-lose mentality to win-win.

Mattson: oldest Lutheran college in country: monuments of Gettysburg battle always remind residents of war: quoted Eisenhower: offers Gettysburg as site for academy: ref. Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

Matsunaga: sure that Gettysburg will be considered as one of the regional satellite sites of the academy.

Wedge: Falklands: ref. Judy Mann article (c1029cc120-121).

C1030 CC147 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 12:25 PM L:8
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARINGS/WITNESS PANEL #2/

Dr. Elise Boulding, Chair, Dept. of Sociology, Dartmouth College, NH
Mr. Thomas Colosi, Vice President, American Arbitration Association, DC
Mr. Bernie Freitag, Vice President, Natl Education Assn., DC
Mr. Milton (Mike) C. Mapes, Executive Director, Natl Peace Academy Campaign, DC
Mrs. Roberta Miller, Executive Director, Consortium of Social Science Associations, DC

C1030 CC148 The Rivka Network (Rivka,217) 4/21/82 12:29 PM L:9
KEYS:/NAPCR/HEARINGS/PANEL #3/

Mrs. Mary Purcell, President, American Assn. of University Women, DC
Mr. Solon Cousins, Exec. Dir, YMCA of the US
Dr. Zelle Andrews, Director, Peace Advocacy Project, United Church of Christ, NYC
Dr. Jos. F. Cloud, Exec. Dir, Metropolitan Human Relations of Nashville and Davidson County, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. Jonathan Barton, New Jersey Council of Churches, Youth Division, Princeton, NJ

WRITTEN TESTIMONY FOR S. 1889 TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CRISIS INTERVENTION

PROGRAMS OFFERED BY MAHARISHI UNIVERSITY OF NATURAL LAW TO ESTABLISH WORLD PEACE

Maharishi University of Natural Law, England, congratulates the United States Congress for its thought to establish the United States Academy of Peace.

We wish to offer you the knowledge and experience of the full potential of natural law, which can establish permanent peace in the family of nations and thereby fulfill the laudable goals of your U.S. Academy of Peace. The ability of the group dynamics of consciousness to neutralize turbulence in world consciousness and raise life everywhere to be in alliance with natural law has been verified by extensive scientific research in the fields of physiology, psychology, sociology, and ecology.

We are fully confident and equipped with the knowledge to bring peace to the world. We are only lacking the financial resources to implement our program on a worldwide scale. However, with the support of the Academy of Peace, we could fulfill our long-cherished desire to implement the programs which are described below:

1) To give a great momentum to the rise of coherence and positivity in world consciousness, we wish to establish twelve large groups of students in existing universities on five continents who will practice the group dynamics

WRITTEN TESTIMONY FOR H.R. 5088: TO ESTABLISH THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CRISIS INTERVENTION

PROGRAMS OFFERED BY MAHARISHI UNIVERSITY OF NATURAL LAW

TO ESTABLISH WORLD PEACE

of consciousness twice daily as a supplement to their regular studies. We want to create four groups of 6,000 students each in the largest countries in the world--China, India, U.S.A., and the Soviet Union. In addition, we want to create eight groups of 3,000 students each in the next largest countries of the world--Indonesia, Japan, Brazil, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria, Mexico, and West Germany.

2) We wish to offer the courses of Maharishi University of Natural Law in every city of the world with a population of 100,000 or more. All of our courses will be available on color video discs. The first course which every student will participate in is the Course on Invincibility to Every Nation. This course has been designed to make enlightenment for every individual and invincibility for every nation a practical and lively reality by training people everywhere to spontaneously think and act in accord with natural law. Educational systems existing in the world so far have not provided the knowledge and experience of the full potential of natural law and therefore, with only partial knowledge of natural law, people everywhere have been continually violating the laws of nature. Violation of the laws of nature by the whole population day after day has resulted in the accumulation of stress and negative trends in world consciousness. Now, however, through the courses of Maharishi University of Natural Law everyone can directly experience the home of all the laws of nature in their

transcendental consciousness and stabilize it through the twice daily practice of the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program and regular activity of daily life, so that all thoughts and actions are spontaneously supported by natural law. Through alliance with natural law, life on earth will be free from suffering, every nation will enjoy cultural integrity, self-sufficiency, and invincibility, and there will be permanent peace in the family of nations.

We hope that you will give your full support to the implementation of our proposals in order to fulfill the goals of your United States Academy of Peace.

[Whereupon, at 3:42 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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